

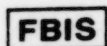
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31 March 1983

# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2124



FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

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31 March 1983

# EAST EUROPE REPORT

## POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

DETAILS PROVIDED ON RECONNAISSANCE TRAINING

East Berlin AR--ARMEERUNDSCHAU in German No 2, Feb 83 (signed to press 21 Dec 82)  
pp 54-59

[Article by Lt Col Horst Spickereit; "Resourceful, Bold, Strong-Willed, Characteristics Demanded During the Performance Competition of the Reconnaissance Troops of Neubrandenburg Military District"]

[Text] Camouflaged with grass and leaves, their faces blackened with soot--this is how they fell in on the camp's parade ground. Twenty four reconnaissance squads. The most successful of their units, they have qualified for this elimination contest at the end of the 1982 training year. Who will be the best in the military district? There are 11 disciplines on the program: methods of moving, identification, target observation, assault course and defense training . . . "Resourceful men are needed here," says Lt Col Kuener, the man in charge of the competition. "Men who act boldly and are strong-willed. We have included both general training subjects and typical reconnaissance disciplines that everyone must have mastered. We want to measure how abilities and skills emerge in situations that approximate a modern battle."

For some squads the station operation starts--as they think--quite pleasantly. They have to start small fires for cooking and warmth. In 5 minutes fuel must be collected in the woods to light it in a short time. Only five matches are available for each fire. It is no easy matter, considering the early morning dew. The first squads almost despair of doing it. The grass is too damp, the wood is too rotten, they say in their defense. But they are also clumsy and make mistakes. "We don't want a bonfire," says the station leader and points to a heaped-up pyramid of thick branches. They should lay thin twigs crosswise on top of each other in a shallow pile. The squads of NCOs Sallmer and Kutschera who follow manage the conditions better. Soon, thin columns of smoke and tiny flames show the success of their efforts--and of their thinking. They used birch bark and broke up slivers of wood. "Yes--birch bark is the reconnaissance soldier's paper," comments one of the supervising officers. "Someone with good training knows that!"

In the meantime, at another station, NCO Weitlich receives his assignment from the Soja-Kosmodemyanskaya unit: To set a trap and carry out a surprise attack on an "enemy" motorcycle messenger. In 2 minutes the squad leader has to survey the terrain, make his decision and divide up his men. He proceeds briskly with the task. He details the observer, the pickets and those who will carry out the attack, clarifies their assignments and signals. He makes them all disappear into the underbrush.

The attack is as brilliant as the preparation was good. There is no unnecessary movement. The squad leaps out determinedly, seizes the "enemy" at the first attempt, gags and binds him, and pulls him off to one side into the bushes. But the men do not forget to leave the scene of the action in the proper condition: The traces are eliminated, the motorcycle is pushed off into a place of concealment and camouflaged; a precaution that many other squads forget. "Very good," is the station leader's praise. "Almost like a teaching demonstration."

Twenty five meters sliding, then 100 meters advancing bent over is the order for the squad of sergeant Schmueggel from the "Paul Hegenbart" unit. On the way, targets must be fired at. It is too bad for them if opportunities for cover are not used, targets are not observed, false move are made! Penalty seconds would be the result. What is penalized here with additional time could cost one or the other of them his life in combat. Using his strong voice, his eyes everywhere, the powerfully built sergeant leads his squad. The men hug the ground, conceal themselves behind the trunks of pine trees and in depressions in the ground, advance under cover, fire at the correct time and leap over the wire boundary fence in a single bound. Very good actions in excellent time! Still, two of his men forget a "detail" afterwards: They do not put on the safety on their automatic weapons. The result: the group is dropped one grade. Even in the heat of battle no inattention is permitted--however small it may appear to be.

"Go, go! Come on! Keep going!" Impatiently NCO Schmidtke drives his five men on. Upside down they are swinging across a river, one after the other. Arm over arm they pull themselves along the 30-meter long rope, one leg stretched out for balance, the other one on the rope. The group moves rhythmically, but oscillations are unavoidable, they threaten to throw the soldiers off. There, it has happened. PFC Nihls falls, but is just able to hold on with his hands. Is everything to have been for nothing? He has 5 meters to go to the bank! "Hang on!" the others yell to him. Grimly the PFC grips the rope, the palms of his hands are burning like fire, the weight of his body wants to drag him down. Bravely he fights on, until finally he falls into the arms of the men ahead of him on the bank. However, there can be no question of rhythm now. The other three on the rope are having great difficulty retaining their balance during all the rocking back and forth. A second man slips off, and hangs face down by both hands and feet. The men constantly encourage each other, help one another. Finally, the last one has solid ground under his feet again! Outstanding ability, group action and the resolve not to give in have made the almost impossible a reality: They have made the best time! The six men in the other squads, who thought that they could not do it, should take this elan as an example. They let themselves fall into the water and thus robbed their collective of a possible victory.

If these have been rigorous hours already, the climax follows in the afternoon: A 20-kilometer orientation march. Using a compass to follow the directional numbers and later following a sketch, they move through the countryside in double time. The sun is blazing in the sky, the paths are dusty. With their uniforms drenched in sweat, supporting weaker comrades, sometimes almost dragging them along, one group after the other reaches the safety of the finish line. The squad of NCO Rauch from the "Arthur-Ludwig-Regiment" has the second-best time: About 2 1/2 hours.

"This is my second year here. That was the hardest yet," concedes the squad leader, after he had recovered somewhat. "A difficult route. Sometimes in soft sand, then up and down through a tank track, then hard concrete. We all had blisters on our feet. But we could hardly feel them any more." The one who felt strongest at any given time always went ahead, pulling the others along. They gave each other mutual encouragement. No one dropped out. "Not even Bretschneider. He had a cramp in his hip. But he gritted his teeth. 'I'll make it,' he kept assuring us. After 10 minutes the pain was gone." Rausch's squad trains a great deal at its home base, as a result it came well prepared to this test of toughness. A model for the squad of NCO Leubner from the Ermisch unit, which lost its way and was the only to give in discouragement. What happened to the honor of the reconnaissance man?

As it turned out, the concluding marksmanship contest the next morning tipped the scales. Stationary and mobile targets are fired at, using a pistol, automatic weapons and an armored personnel carrier turret gun. Many who previously been high in the rankings, close to a victory, returned chastened from the firing line. Inadequate mastery of the weapon, insufficient knowledge of the rules leave him no chance to score many hits.

Overall victors and winners of a cup are, in the end, those who turned in consistent performances on both days, were always among the leaders and achieved excellent results in shooting as well: Among the armored personnel carrier crews, the squad of sergeant Andre Jablckoff from the "Julian Marchlewski" unit, among the armored car crews NCO Ralf Schmitdke's men and among the scouts the men of NCO Jost Natusch, both from the Ermisch unit.

The consistency of the reasons for their victories is striking. "We all had a tremendous resolve to do it at all costs. One helped the other, the cooperation was great. There was a martial spirit at work, it was wonderful," in the words of Ralf Schmitdke. He said that the weakest comrades in their group on the march had been the drivers. It had been very hard for them. Still--they had made it through, they did not want to ruin their collective's chance. This bond had existed among them for a long time. "We are a practised team," says Andre Jablckoff. "We can rely on each other. At the beginning of our military service we decided what we want: Always to reach a place at the front. I don't think much of someone who simply says: 'I can't'. Together we have to educate him, so that he does not lag behind." Cameraderie was there every day in their group. Not only in military matters, people knew about each other as far as family life was concerned, and helped wherever possible. In this way the foundation for a good understanding, for what they had in common, for solid results in their training had come about.

The victory of the three squads is no coincidence. The combat collectives which belong to the pacesetters in their units prevailed.

How will they celebrate their victory? "Oh, at the end. Next week. We'll pick a nice restaurant."

INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS SPOKESMAN INTERVIEWED

DW101320 Bonn DIE WELT in German 10 Mar 83 p 5

[Interview with Erhard Goehl, spokesman of the International Society for Human Rights (IGFM) in Frankfurt/Main, responsible for monitoring the situation in the GDR; by Werner Kahl in Bonn on this year's session of the UN Human Rights Commission in Geneva; date of interview not given]

[Text] [Question] Mr Goehl, despite the fact that the United Nations organization "continuously and officially registers human rights violations in the GDR," a treatment before this UN forum of the complaints about the "GDR" submitted for the current assembly period has been rejected by majority vote.

[Answer] This result is tantamount to a scandalous acquittal of the East Berlin leadership.

[Question] What has the IGFM done to inform the delegations assembled in Switzerland?

[Answer] Periodically we were in Geneva with an observer delegation, while there we passed on to more than 30 member states of the Human Rights Commission (total membership being 43) a documentation on the situation along the inner-German border prepared on the basis of the UN charter and of international law, and we held many talks.

[Question] What was your impression?

[Answer] A very obvious passiveness of the FRG delegation evidently caused other Western delegates to desist from treating German problems before the world forum in a more German way than the Germans would.

[Question] It is striking that escape actions in the past few weeks came off relatively well. Has East Berlin abolished the shooting order?

[Answer] Probably not, unfortunately; yet we cannot but find that for the duration of the assembly period of the Human Rights Commission escapes over the metal-mesh fence succeeded without the automatic shooting devices installed there firing their steel fragments at refugees. From this one might conclude that the killing devices had been shut off for the duration of the meeting of the Human Rights Commission that was significant to East Berlin.

[Question] What are the tasks which the Human Rights advocates are posing for themselves now in Germany?

[Answer] The free citizens must not put up with the defeat in Geneva, for the forthcoming UN assembly politicians, institutions and the FRG delegation must ensure that the East Berlin leadership will not be able to dodge its commitment for the fulfillment of the human rights with the help of innocent Third World countries.

CSO: 2300/163

# ELBLAG GOVERNOR DISCUSSES LOCAL SITUATION

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 10 Feb 83 p 4

[Interview with Colonel Ryszard Urlinski, Elblag governor, by Second Lieutenant R. Przeciszewski; "I Am not a Stranger Here"; date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] Is it easy to be a governor? Let me also add: To accept this position after many years of military service, that is, to change the nature and style of your work?

[Answer] I evaluate each situation realistically. There was a need and I was selected. In other words I was counted on in some way. Every individual has ambitions and thus to the extent he can, strives to accomplish the tasks set before him. If successful, that is good. If not, as a soldier I would report that that is not for me, that I am not able to cope. Perhaps that is obvious.

[Question] In order to perform tasks adequately every leader must know his subordinates---their capabilities. Here, it was necessary to acquire that knowledge from the beginning.

[Answer] I arrived in Elblag at night during the first days of martial law. Coming from the outside, I did not really know anyone here and it was difficult for me to determine whether this or that one was suitable for a given post. In order to judge people it is necessary to work with them and also to have some kind of point of reference. Time is needed for that. That is why all of my cadre decisions, excluding those where political considerations governed, were not precipitate. At the beginning I said: Everyone works for himself and we will judge on work results. That policy stood the test. If the element of settling accounts comes into play, then consciousness and motivation of conduct are not always in agreement.

[Question] what changed in the Elblag administration?

[Answer] I can boldly say that the work style changed. I introduced monthly briefings and reports right from the start. The voivodship office is a large number of departments. If each one of them was to initiate contact with the head of a gmina, then in effect the gmina head would have to be on the move

all of the time. In order to settle all the problems, and to exchange current observations, all of us meet once a month at a special briefing. First, there is information about the situation in the country and the region, and then not less than six managers report on project accomplishments during the preceding month. Everybody must be prepared, because of course it is not known who will be asked to make a report. Then, department directors transmit the most important decisions to staffs, and after that, I present the main tasks for the following month. After a break, managers have the floor and they present their observations, proposals or conclusions. Such a briefing disciplines work, concentrates effort, brings people closer together and saves time. I do not conceal the fact that only a couple of months ago this work style was accepted variously, even with a wink that said, What does he want?

[Question] This model is oddly familiar, as if taken from military life...

[Answer] I do not deny it; however, anything that can help the situation should be used. Neither was the idea of introducing so-called travelling Wednesdays a new one. On that day, I or one of the deputy governors go to various gminas where we see various clients. Last Wednesday I was in Susz and saw 35 citizens with various problems. The payoff is that fewer petitioners will come to the voivodship office, that some of their problems can be settled out of hand and others can be expedited. I have direct contact with people and can hear them out, advise and help them to whatever extent I can, and that really brings us closer together. Thus, after a year in Elblag I can say I am no stranger here, and that people know me not just as a name and uniform.

In addition, the Wednesday visits are an occasion for meeting with gmina People's Councils [GRN], and for a comparison of what petitioners said and the needs of the gmina. Thanks to this it is possible to clarify many problems, something that results in decreasing the number of questions at sessions of People's Councils. Also, one additional matter--in the course of these trips, I listen to citizens and at the same time I am arriving at an opinion about the voivodship office. Because, for example, many problems could have been resolved sooner, and the question now arises: Why not, and why did the manager delay? Thus this mobilizes the manager and the office to have as few of these problems as possible.

[Question] So a year of work has elapsed in the post of governor. A year that was not easy for the country or for the region, a "year for survival"--as you said a couple of months ago, Colonel, during an interview for POLITYKA...

[Answer] I worked from realistic assumptions. Not only in our voivodship, but in the country as a whole this was a year for survival, because economic reform came about the country was unstable, all of us were harassed by difficulties. Thus it was necessary to survive this difficult period, in my opinion--not break down, get to work and create basic solutions in 1983.

[Question] Was that successful?



[Answer] In Elblag, certainly. We found ourselves among the top 10 voivodships. That says something. Therefore, today I will not say that this year is also one for survival because that is associated with some kind of stagnation, ~~while~~ we must go forward.

[Question] However, were there not moments during the past months which created pessimism or brought doubt? Somehow it is difficult to believe that the leadership was devoid of those feelings.

[Answer] I am a soldier and a soldier cannot doubt. Something might not work out but better-or-worse--solution will always be found that will bring, if not complete, then partial success. We did not doubt, the more so because we knew that merit was on our side. There were several critical moments: the possibility of strikes and street incidents, but we did everything to keep the situation from coming to that. And we were successful and had the full understanding and support of the voivodship public. After the May events there no longer were any tensions here.

[Question] Comrade Colonel, you mentioned the voivodship public's understanding and support. Certainly not all of the government's decisions were popular, all were not controversial. Disciplinary constraints also had to be utilized in Elblag...

[Answer] Agreed--those were decisions that are difficult to make but at the same time are essential in the light of overriding considerations. After the street incidents in May, when disciplinary constraints were utilized, there were those who had been harmed. I appeared at work establishments, and did not avoid dialogue with people, on the contrary--I provoked it. I presented the matter clearly: who was served by disturbances and unrest, who benefitted, who was behind these problems. I do not say that the arguments reached everybody, but I am convinced that they did reach a large number of people. The wave of protests in our voivodship did not grow but declined. And it is precisely from this that it is possible to draw such a conclusion.

[Question] Does that mean that today there is full approval for government actions and plans?

[Answer] We would be presumptuous if we only ascribed successes to ourselves. We are not looking through rose-colored glasses, we also see shortcomings. However, the fact is that our effort to date has paid off with perceptible results. These are confirmed by the attainments of work enterprises in our voivodship that are executing their production plans in full and are setting their goal ever higher.

[Question] Then has the reform been "successful"?

[Answer] It is still too early for such a judgment. In any event the reform caught on and is being initiated with a better or worse result, and has provided a basis for changes for the better. People understand that nothing comes about without effort and work, that now everything depends on ourselves.

/Question/ However, is this not an acceptance of the reform? Without it, its assumptions remain a worthless scrap of paper. Let us for example touch on the ticklish problem that the relationship to self-governments constitutes. What does that problem look like in the Elblag voivodship?

/Answer/ I cannot answer for staffs--let us say that right out--very frequently they are inadequately prepared for reform. Reform requires training, be it with respect to understanding the economics of the enterprise, or the nation's economy. That is not anything that can be taken care of in a week, or by one information release. Not long ago for example, we organized a meeting of self-government representatives with Docent Jaworski, a representative of a Sejm commission, who explained the principles of labor council operations to them. This gave rise to surprise because it turned out that in practice many self-governments did not exist because they were not fulfilling the terms of the law. Perhaps this is an extreme example, but it also testifies about the general situation in this field. To be sure, hands need not be wrung, people must be reached, the most controversial problems must be explained to them, and that is precisely what we are doing.

/Question/ What then chases sleep from the Elblag governor's eyes?

/Answer/ At the start of my stay in Elblag, I kept asking myself what kind of a voivodship it was that I was in. What was most important was that after hearing many opinions, I came to an unequivocal conclusion: Elblag's individuality was agriculture. One-third of the area under cultivation is practically 130,000 hectares of pure marshland area /Zulawy/. That is, a land for cows, milk, wheat and sugar beets, but also a neglected land. The land is worth fighting for, so that it will give the country the maximum it can. I am not discovering anything unusual. Harvests of 29 quintals of grain per hectare for the marshlands are ridiculous when the Dutch harvest 61 quintals /per hectare/ on similar soils. In that climatic zone, a cow yields 4,000 liters of milk while one of our cows yields not quite 3,000 liters. Actually, these reserves give me no peace. Here is something for which to struggle: raising cows' milking capability would produce about 50 million more liters of milk, and a minimal increase in cultivation yields--100,000 tons of grain, and a half-million could even be assumed. We do postpone this problem even for a moment...

/Question/ This matter was fought for in past years, but nothing came of it...

/Answer/ After becoming acquainted with the marshland and various data, I can say that the last decade was a regression for that region. Proof is the drop in production per hectare and worse water conditions. Marshland is more than 600 km of dams whose state of protection is not the best. If there is a flood here today that is not an accident. We also have more than 16,000 km of lengthy ditches, of which one-third ought to be reconditioned every year. However, this was not done. Despite the crisis, it is now necessary to do everything to restore this region to the country. We have come out for amending the so-called marshland statute which at present is being considered by the government. The premier has understood our needs and has helped us. Means were found, the army came with help, and the first step, though a minimal one was made to save the marshland.

/Question/ How can the work of soldiers within the framework of the "Zulawy-82" action be evaluated?

/Answer/ The army's services on behalf of the marshland last year were significant. A few statistics will suffice here. The army built 14 bridges and 4 footbridges over canals and rivers; the remnants of 2 wartime bridges on the Pasieka were cleared away; 12 km of stream windbreaks in 2 rivers that caused waters to dam up were cleared away; maintenance work was accomplished on a 32 km segment of basic drainage mechanisms; more than 3 km of the Liszka river and a 2 km segment of Lake Druzno were regulated. Many things are immeasurable in a moral sphere: the attitude towards this work, the commitment, the overcoming of impossibility, for years hands had been spread in a gesture of hopelessness. Now it suddenly turned out that villages could be linked with one another, transportation could be improved, and accesses to destinations shortened. There is also an evident gain: what we paid the army would have had to have been earmarked just for the work plans. That is why I say without any restrictions: that this year also the army will understand our needs and will be willing to come to the marshland in order to save it for the country.

/Question/ We are conducting our talk on the eve of the 38th anniversary of the freeing of Elblag but somehow one does not sense its magnificent holiday nature.

/Answer/ It is true that more is said today about current problems rather than about past history. However, that does not mean that we have forgotten. That anniversary has a political aspect. We must be and are aware that we returned to this land thanks to the victorious offensive of the Soviet and the Polish people's armies. We are also aware of our own accomplishments. This land was badly damaged, however, it is not true that nothing was done here as has been alleged.

A new city has arisen that continues to expand and has great perspectives before it. Three gminas in our voivodship border on the Soviet Union. We cooperate with the Kalinin District. We remember that that also is a consequence of the victory of 38 years ago.

10433

CSO: 2600/415

## SOLIDARITY EXILE CHOJECKI INTERVIEWED

Brussels KNACK in Dutch 2 Feb 83 pp 62-64

[Interview with Miroslaw Chojecki, exiled KOR co-founder and Solidarity activist, in Paris, date and interviewer not given]

[Text] Some time ago, Miroslaw Chojecki was involved in setting up the KOR, the circle of intellectuals who were a firsthand party to the founding of free Solidarity, in Poland. He was the man (or one of the men) behind the clandestine NOWA publications, on whose behalf (together with his commitments to Solidarity), in fact, he was in the United States at the moment when General Jaruzelski perpetrated his coup d'etat in Poland and declared martial law. Thus Chojecki could no longer return to Poland without being immediately arrested.

He went to Paris, where he is involved in the free union's foreign operations, and where he has established a political journal for the Polish community: KONTAKT. He himself says that the paper is much more intended for the Poles in Poland than for the Poles in Paris. Miroslaw Chojecki is the only KOR-member condemned by the Polish state who is still at large. He was convicted in absentia, and can count on a sentence of between 5 years and the death penalty upon his return. A rather sad conversation about Solidarity's prospects, the Polish state, and the role of the Catholic church follows:

[Chojecki] The result of the so-called "lifting" of martial law is a deterioration of the legal situation of Polish citizens, i.e., a whole series of new regulations proclaimed as "temporary" during martial law has now been legalized by the parliament. And I think that the community has not worked out a new program since the fiasco of the demonstration on 12 November (Chojecki uses the word "community" to indicate the totality of the people, somewhat like "Solidarity," as opposed to the state or the ruling bureaucracy, ed.) Now we've got a situation in which the majority of the Polish community is against the regime as it is now, but has no program, and is formulating no ideas for organizing itself against that regime.

The aim of most underground activity today is to spread information--through radio broadcasts which sometimes take place in small cities and the underground press. Many arrests are made, but it keeps springing up again, with

new people and new means. But the authorities have no program either for getting out of this situation of crisis and confrontation. Or for solving the difficult economic situation, or for getting out of the political impasse. And the authorities do not conceal the fact that they don't have a program: they even admit that they feel capable of governing without any support from the community. That's just about the way things look there. You could say that the clandestine activities are at somewhat of a low ebb, since the information networks are now rather well spread out. But only a few other actions are being taken. And the government for its part is just governing, also without a program. The clandestine activities are increasingly being structured on the model of the Spanish Comisiones Obreras (CCOO), but those are still at the beginning stage, so we still can't tell if that is really such a good model.

"If I become a pessimist, I'll go look for a job and learn French"

[Question] What would you then say has changed? Before Solidarity and the events surrounding it, wasn't that all illegal too?

[Answer] But it's also true that the possible sentences were much lower than they are now. I myself was often arrested, but for short periods of time. It was a question of 48 hours, sometimes a little more, sometimes a little less. And the people who were picked up during martial law also got stiffer sentences, but they could always think, oh well, it's martial law, after it's over there'll be amnesty and we can go free again. Now they are disillusioned: martial law has been lifted, the they are still in custody. And for those who are now involved in such activities, there are no longer good prospects that after the passing of time another liberalization will come. Whenever I was arrested, I was sure that I'd be free again in a few days. That's no longer part of the picture.

[Question] How many are still in prison?

[Answer] Hard to say. According to official figures, about 1600. But according to our own lists, at least 4000. But we can also be mistaken, because in the meantime, people have been set free, and others have been picked up. But those 4000 names that we have are all of those who were convicted, or who were waiting for their trial.

[Question] And what in your opinion has changed, apart from the repression, that you now need a program? Solidarity didn't really have a genuine program?

[Answer] First of all, I feel that Solidarity did in fact work out a program at its first congress. After the proclamation of the state of war, the first and most important point of the program was to get Solidarity's activities going again. Now we're in a new situation because we're convinced that it's impossible in the short run to get Solidarity back into operation. So once again we haven't got a program. So the main task for a new program now consists of creating a new situation in which a phenomenon such as Solidarity can once more exist.

[Question] And what is needed for that?

[Answer] We need a lot of material help; i.e., printing materials, radio equipment and the like, in order to make communication between People possible. But since Poland is in Europe I don't think that we ourselves have much chance of alleviating the system without the support, without the pressure of West European governments on Poland itself. What we have to avoid is a process of loosening social cohesion within the community. We now see all too well that this government is not ready for any compromise with the community. They were always saying that they wanted to talk, but the only major partner for such discussions was Solidarity, and they broke it up.

[Question] But how do you think a new situation can be brought about?

[Answer] Perhaps it is not possible that the solution lies in the workers' joining the small worker-controlled organizations that still function in the plants--on the Spanish model. One of Solidarity's mistakes was that we did not prepare the people for such a situation. As union activists. So maybe we now have to train such people, and thus prepare the future activists. With such things as workers-universities, they exist now, and who knows what...Before the fact, it also would have been very hard to foresee Solidarity itself. Perhaps one fine day the Russians will find the costs of our catastrophic economy too high and let us go? And in our opinion, the only way to improve the economy is to let the community participate in its organization and the decisionmaking.

[Question] People have been talking about a willingness on the part of the Polish Catholic Church to compromise with the government. What do you think of this?

[Answer] The Polish church doesn't consist only of Primate Glemp. In Poland, some people are Catholic not out of religious convictions, but simply because they're against communism. The churches there are full, among other reasons, because going to church is a demonstration against the government. Nevertheless, the church in Poland will not and cannot be a political church. But on the other hand, it doesn't have a choice in this situation, and must choose sides. Now the most important thing for the church and for the primate is that nobody should be killed in demonstrations. Thus they can't support street demonstrations because they know that the police use force. In certain circles, then, people are saying that the church is dropping Solidarity because it doesn't support those demonstrations, which is not true. The churches have been centers for much concrete and individual help. During martial law, a large portion of the cultural life took place in the churches, where, among other things, plays were put on that were forbidden elsewhere. The churches were the only place where such things were still possible.

One can make the observation that at a certain point, perhaps, Glemp was forced to do something political. At the moment when he wanted to ensure the Pope's visit to Poland at any price. That also took a political toll.

But you can say such things about Primate Glomp, or about the hierarchy, but not about the church itself. We already have more than ten priests sitting in prison because they stood up for us. You must not identify the church with Primate Glomp.

[Question] Are those people right who say that the church is once more the only partner for talks with the government since Solidarity doesn't exist any more?

[Answer] Solidarity is the whole community, and I don't think that the church has abandoned the community. But it no longer exists as a large, structured organization, although some structures are still active.

[Question] Don't you find equating Solidarity and the community somewhat mystical?

[Answer] Solidarity comprises almost the entire nation. And with the church it's practically the same: it has influence over almost the entire nation. And at the moment, in fact, only the church remains, because Solidarity no longer exists as a structure with which the government can enter into talks in a legal manner. Solidarity still exists as an idea, of course, and as such, it involves the entire nation. It still exists clandestinely, but it can no longer profit from the statutes as a union. What it can do is to take action in the factory, here and there where old Solidarity structures still exist in factories, to impede work at the plant level. Sometimes factory managers are grateful for this, because cooperating with those old Solidarity structures allows for more efficient operations, which allows the manager to stand in better stead with the state. Because his factory runs better.

[Question] Is that what you were referring to when you mentioned the model of the Comisiones Obreras?

[Answer] Yes, although there is a fundamental difference between the Polish and the Spanish situation of that time. Because production in Spain was in private hands, and thus people were interested in seeing that things went well; while in socialized Poland, no one, not even the state, attaches any importance to whether things go well or not. The evolution of the Polish crisis proves that the economy doesn't interest them.

[Question] You say that both Solidarity and the church encompass the entire country. Now Solidarity has demonstrated that it wanted to change society. As a rule, however, the church does not consider it its task to change society. Won't the government then prefer to negotiate with the church than with Solidarity?

[Answer] The Polish church has never wanted to be a political power. It has become one in spite of itself. It's true that the men in power do not want to talk with Solidarity because Solidarity is a direct threat to their power, and that the church primarily negotiates in order to help or to protect people, not in order to change the political system. But I fear that

the church will have to pay a high price for the Pope's visit. On the one hand, the nation has placed all its hopes on that visit, but on the other, those hopes must almost surely be deceived. I can imagine that the government is firmly attaching various demands to that visit, for example, that the trial of various strikers who are still in custody should take place, and that the church should remain silent about it. So that in the eyes of the people, the church will lose much of its prestige, and much of its authority.

[Question] But if Solidarity was following the church all that time, does it have to keep on following it? Isn't the release of Walesa a move in this game with the church?

[Answer] Releasing Walesa was the best political move that Jaruzelski could make. For Walesa had no contact with Solidarity. There was a division of labor between Walesa and the provisional committee of Solidarity, the TKK (Temporary Coordinating Commission). The TKK had given Walesa the power to decide whether or not everything should be allowed to continue functioning, or be dissolved. I myself think that he didn't know at all how to profit from his ingenious move--Jaruzelski, that is. Now he's squandering the opportunities that he himself had created. By not letting him speak and denying him access to the shipyard, Jaruzelski is demolishing his own game and what he had won in the beginning. In fact, he's just proving by that that Walesa is not a private individual but rather a public figure. In this way Walesa is winning back the authority that he lost upon his release.

"'Lifting' Martial Law Has Made Things Worse for the People"

[Question] Nevertheless, one can ask to what extent Solidarity is thus caught up in a strategy of the church which is not necessarily the strategy of Solidarity.

[Answer] But the church has been great up to now! The only thing that has to be emphasized is that there's a difference between the church and Glomp.

The conversation comes to a close with Polish commentaries on current events: the game of Lech Walesa, who acts as if he wants to return to his work and thus forces the government to publicly embarrass itself; the maneuvering of the TKK; and, pessimistically, the sad part of the current situation, in the middle of winter, that the people are gradually losing heart. In response to the question whether this has made him a pessimist, Miroslaw Chojacki grins and says: "If I become a pessimist, I'll go learn French and look for a job. I'll put an end to this camping out and live one day at a time. That the Poles are sitting in exile in Paris is not necessarily a bad sign: many of our best writers have written their works in Paris. It's been that way for centuries."



POLISH DELEGATE DISCUSSES ASPECTS OF CSCE DELIBERATIONS

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 5-6 Feb 83 p 6

/Interview with Dr Andrzej Towpik, of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, member of the Polish delegation at the deliberations in Madrid, by Captain Jerzy Markowski: "Military Intricacies at the Madrid Arena"; date not specified

/Text On 8 February 1983, the conference of representatives of states that signed the CSCE Final Act resumes deliberations in Madrid dedicated to problems of security and cooperation in Europe. ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI is speaking with Dr Andrzej Towpik, a well-known expert in the field of disarmament, a member of the Polish delegation at the deliberations in Madrid, and Ministry of Foreign Affairs employee.

/Question The deliberations of the representatives of CSCE participant states began in Madrid in November 1980. Now it is February 1983. In the opinion of the public that is a period of lost opportunities, of uninspiring, if not sterile debates, that more frequently took on the form of confrontation rather than a search for cooperation and security on the European continent. Sir, do you share this views?

/Answer Indeed the conference's efforts began more than 2 years ago. Since that time participants have met six times in sessions, each of which lasted several days. The seventh so-called round of negotiations begins on 8 February. You mentioned a feeling of a certain disenchantment in public opinion because of the lack of specific results, and the frequently confrontational nature of discussion. There is no doubt that that is a fact. However, that is true not only of this forum of international negotiations. We also observe similar symptoms of stagnation at other levels of East-West talks. The principal cause of this situation is U.S. policy, whose aim became not the seeking of agreement, but the intensification of confrontation both as an element of political warfare and as a justification for an expedited arms race. Those are not considerations that favor international negotiations in general, and particularly negotiations pertaining to security problems.

However, coming back to the Madrid meeting--were its efforts sterile? Probably not, I would describe them rather as very difficult ones. I would

even regard the fact that the efforts were not broken off, that dialogue was maintained, and that the powers not interested in the success of this meeting were unable to bring about its failure is a kind of success. It is also a fact that as the result of these negotiations--although they are difficult--and not, as you mentioned, bereft of an element of confrontation, it was possible to obtain agreement in many matters which are to be included in the Final Document of the Madrid meeting. It is estimated that 80 percent of the text of that document is ready, although of course, the remaining 20 percent consists of unusually difficult problems. Thus, that "quantitative" measure can be somewhat misleading in an evaluation of the final prospects of the meeting. However, I am mentioning this in order to justify my view that a completely negative evaluation of the Madrid meeting's efforts to date does not appear to me to be justified.

Question This is not the same world or the same Europe of the Helsinki era. It is said that a specific militarization of political relationships has ensued. How does that affect the deliberations in Madrid? What specifically hinders agreement on the entire document? Is it not actually problems of a military nature?

Answer Indeed it is not the state of international relationships which existed during the first half of the 1970's, although I would not idealize the international situation of that period. It also was complex. Nonetheless, what differentiates it from the present one is the then existing will of seeking mutually acceptable solutions for adoption.

Currently it has been replaced by a tendency to confrontation. The militarization of political relationships mentioned by you has also manifested itself more strongly, that is, investing the military factor with a special rank in the shaping of interstate relationships. This stimulates an arms race; it intensifies trends in the nuclear weapons age to attain military superiority as a decisive element in policy. Examples of that are the many decisions of the United States and other NATO states relative to the development of armed forces as well as all the propaganda that supposedly justifies those decisions.

In these circumstances the problem of decreasing military confrontation and initiating talks on this problem between CSCE participants had to attain and have special significance. An expression of this actually is the idea of a special conference dedicated to problems of easing military tension, and disarmament in Europe. Poland, in consultation with other socialist states, suggested convening such a conference in Madrid. France came out with a similar proposal. Other states also presented various proposals. However, the first two proposals became the chief basis of appropriate efforts. What is more, the idea of a conference obtained the support of all of the meeting's participants. However, this did not make the work of the meeting easier, or what is more, did not mean that all of the participants are really interested in its being called despite the professed declarations. However, the matter of bringing about such a conference and defining its mandate became one of the principal axis of the negotiations conducted during the meeting. However, divergences with respect to the idea of such a conference as well as the actual divergences as to intentions resulted in making the efforts very

difficult. Nonetheless, progress was made in this field. It has already been possible to reach agreement on many essential elements of the conference's mandate with respect to the development of means (for promoting) confidence, security, and disarmament.

However, to present a proper picture, it is necessary to emphasize that the difficulties in the efforts of the Madrid conference are not related only to that problem. There are many other controversial problems. For example, they concern the working out and interpretation of the principles of interstate relations adopted in the Final Act, certain problems associated with international cooperation in the so-called humanitarian area as well as further measures to be taken after the meeting, including all kinds of subject matter for future meetings of the CSCE process participants.

[Question] Let us come back, however, to the conference problem in the matter of the means for building confidence and promoting security and disarmament. I have encountered opinion to the effect that a Final Document of the Madrid Conference without a mandate of the Conference would be worthless and jeopardize the process of developing European security.

[Answer] The need for undertaking negotiations in the matter of the so-called military aspects of European security is currently felt in governments as well as in public opinion. It is a matter of at least restricting, if not eliminating, the constantly growing threats to the continent that arise from the enormous concentration of military forces and armaments. Thus, the decision to convene this conference will in large measure, undoubtedly be defining the value of the agreements reached.

On the other hand, problems of easing military tension have not been considered more extensively in the CSCE process up to this time. Calling the conference, which is to be a part of the CSCE process would in effect mean its enrichment to a new and unusually vital extent. Thus, regardless of the fact that the conference could bring about the resolution of specific problems, it would be a factor in strengthening the CSCE process itself.

[Question] What are the basic differences between participants to the conference based on?

[Answer] Fortunately, we can talk about certain divergences in the past tense. The chief problems pertained to: the role of the conference in the CSCE process, the tasks of its individual stages, the nature of the means which are to be adopted in the first stage and the territorial range of their application. Briefly, the main provisions on these matters are as follows: the conference will be a "basic and integral" part of the CSCE process; its first stage will be dedicated to means for building trust and security, the second to problems of disarmament, the means agreed on in the first phase should be militarily significant, politically obligatory, and should be accompanied by adequate verification procedures that are appropriate to its contents. The last problem that is, the territorial extent of the application of the first stage means, has not yet been resolved, along with the lack of an agreement as to the scope of their application in adjoining European waters, something that is part of the general problem of the area.

The characterization of the positions of individual negotiation participants would take up too much of our time. It is impossible, however, to fail to emphasize the highly constructive position of the Soviet Union's delegation. It brought an unusually realistic input into the positive resolution of many of the problems mentioned. This is particularly evident in its approach to what undoubtedly are the most difficult problems of the mandate, that is, the area covered by first state means. The USSR's willingness to encompass all the European portion of the USSR in the development of means of verification, along with the proper resolution of the matter of the use of such means in adjoining European waters, was one of the breakthrough moments in the negotiations conducted. It could have been expected that a similarly constructive position would be taken by the western powers, along with a resolution of the problem of the use of these means on ocean areas adjacent to Europe. Alas these expectations have not materialized up to this time, while the problem of applicable area and utilization of the means of building trust and security continue to remain unresolved.

[Question] Thus, the principal object of controversy currently are the differences in position with respect to the definition of the area for the use of trust-building means. Are there any possibilities for overcoming these differences because--as is indicated by press reports--there existed a paradoxical conspiracy of silence on this subject during the last round of talks?

[Answer] It could be that that was the way it appeared from some press reports. Actually, however, the situation was exactly the opposite. The problem of area was also the subject of exceptionally intensive negotiations as well as of numerous unofficial consultations. Of course, the possibilities for overcoming the many differences still remaining are there as long as negotiators remain at the negotiating table. However, their attainment depends on the willingness of governments. The problem depends primarily on the fact that, for some governments, the idea of an unrestricted arms race constantly appears to be more attractive than factual talks that could lead to its inhibition. Fortunately, however, most of the participating states represent a different view.

[Question] Let us be optimists and assume that a decision so necessary for Europe of convening a conference dedicated to the development of the means for building confidence will be adopted. What is being said in Madrid about the problems that ought to find themselves at the center of attention at this conference?

[Answer] The subject of the coming conference is defined rather generally. As I have already mentioned it was agreed that its first stage should be dedicated to the means for promoting confidence and security (the nature of these means was also generally defined), and in the next phase the conference should immediately occupy itself with disarmament measures.

The problem of the specific measures for the first, and even more so for the second stage, was not considered, I believe justly so. There is a sufficient

number of problems with the definition of the conference mandate itself. There is a silent agreement with respect to undertaking work on the conference mandate to the effect that the meeting should not occupy itself with specific measures for building confidence despite the fact that proposals on this matter were presented at the meeting. At present, speculation as to what specific resolutions are to be considered at the conference would only be speculation.

Question Let us stop, however, with the first stage of the coming conference. What is the role and function of the military "means for building trust" that was mentioned? In general is it possible to speak of trust in a military atmosphere? In the opinion of the West, are military means of building trust not a vision of "arms control" without disarmament?

Answer These questions, and doubts about the effectiveness of "means for building trust" assuredly are justifiable. The term itself, "means for building trust" is rather new.

It became a part of international terminology on a broader scale only after the signing of the Final Act of the CSCE in 1975, in which many measures in the military area were agreed upon and defined as the "means for building trust."

Today there already is a broad literature on this subject and many attempts at definition. Speaking most generally, it concerns those means in the military area which, not being means for limiting or for reducing armed forces and armaments, will be affecting a reduction in the level of military confrontation, eliminate certain dangers of conflict, lessen uncertainty, prevent misunderstanding or incorrect judgment through assurance of better communication, the introduction of greater openness in certain areas of military activity, exchange of information etcetera. Thus, although the expression is relatively new, the idea on which those means are based is not new. In a certain classical sense, the means for building confidence have already been in existence, for example, the agreement on establishing direct communications between Moscow and Washington in 1963, or the Soviet-U.S. understanding of 1971 with respect to means for lessening the risk of an outbreak of nuclear war, or the 1972 agreement on preventing incidents on the open seas. An example of this type of means, of course, are the means anticipated in the Final Act, such for example, as prior notice of large military maneuvers, the exchange of observers at maneuvers, and mutual military visits. They are also discussed in the Vienna negotiations as the so-called means accompanying future reduction measures.

These means, of course, can contribute to an increase in trust. It would be misleading to treat them as the only way to build trust in the military sphere. Specific measures that limit or reduce armed forces can contribute to the growth of trust much more effectively than any of these means.

In the CSCE process, building means appear as an independent group of measures. That, I believe, restricts their possible scope and depth. It would be difficult to expect that it would be possible to accept a broader program of

this type of means, or that they would fulfill their "trust building" role under, for example, the conditions of an restricted area race.

I needed this longer exposition for a short answer to your question: the building of trust in the military field is possible. However, it would be an illusion to believe that that could come about solely with the aid of so-called trust-building means. Hence, the problem of parallel disarmament measures that can be agreed on at other meetings, as well as the matter of passing as rapidly as possible to the second stage of the conference which is dedicated to disarmament also has basic significance, alike for the prospects and the effectiveness of measures in the area of trust-building that will be deliberated at the first stage.

/Question/ The Polish delegation's activity in Madrid is generally known, particularly when the West tried to fashion an all-important subject out of the "Polish question" at this meeting. Sir, could you characterize our less-known input into the Madrid deliberations, particularly in their military area?

/Answer/ As I indicated, Poland was the author of one of the main conference projects dedicated to trust-building means and disarmament in Europe. This required substantial activity by the delegation with respect to the presentation of proposals and their defense. We were also active during the period of closed negotiations pertaining to the meeting's final document that constituted a part of the conference's mandate. In a certain sense that is at one and the same time a continuation of the traditional involvement of Polish diplomacy in matters pertaining to European disarmament, as well as our activity in such matters during the period of developing the CSCE Final Document.

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PRESS DOUBTS SINCERITY OF WALESA'S DESIRE TO WORK

Walesa 'Avoiding' Pre-employment Formalities

AU261260 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 22-23 Jan 83

[Press review: "I Am Waiting for Walesa"]

[Text] In one of its recent issues, the DZIENNIK BALTYCKI [20 Jan 83 p3] published a conversation, under the above title, with Boleslaw Napieraj, administrator of the assets of the former National Commission and Regional Board of "Solidarity" in Gdansk, which reads: "I understand that you invited Lech Walesa to come and see you, he is unwilling to come, and again we have a world sensation on our hands. What do you want from Walesa? Why should he want to come and see you?" asks DZIENNIK BALTYCKI correspondent K. Sie-lawa.

"From the moment the 'Solidarity' trade union was suspended," says B. Napieraj, "I have been performing the function of an employer for full-time 'Solidarity' workers. Since the new trade union law was passed, that is to say, from the time that 'Solidarity' and other trade unions ceased to exist, I am obliged to regulate matters concerning the return of regional and central workers to normal employment. It is precisely these matters which I must settle with Mr Walesa, as with every worker of the former 'Solidarity' union in turn."

"What kind of specific matters?"

"A certificate stating that he worked for 'Solidarity,' concerning the termination of his work and the disposal of the leave owing to him."

"But Mr Walesa is precisely saying that he does want to work in the ship-yard."

"Every person starting work must, after all, regulate his affairs with his former employer, obtain the appropriate certification and so on. Millions of people do this and I have never yet heard of anyone refusing to settle a few normal formalities. I do not understand why Mr Walesa is avoiding me. Is he afraid of me?"

"It seems to me that Lech Walesa has told the foreign correspondents who follow him around that he does not recognize your office...."

"How can he not recognize it? I have been paying him over 32,000 zlotys a month for more than a year. The Walesas received their ration cards from me. I granted Mr Walesa the 2-month rest leave he wanted after being released from internment(...)

"Like every government official, I perform duties which have been determined by law, regardless of whether my office actually pleases anyone at a given moment or not. It is now time that Mr Walesa went to work like any other citizen and it is this that I would like to settle with him when we meet. He is still entitled to 3 month's notice as the former union leader. I am obliged to grant him this, but perhaps he will resign from it and we will settle this by mutual agreement? In summoning him, I would also like to ask him, therefore, if he would still like to take his notice or return to work immediately? We must, after all, talk this over."

"Walesa states that he wants to return to his former position, to the shipyard. Do you intend to make any difficulties for him?"

"No. However, I must settle the formalities connected with Mr Walesa's resumption of normal employment, since it is he who is creating the obstacles. I do not know why."

"If, however, Lech Walesa chooses to continue behaving like a temperamental film star, then I do not envy the supervisors at his work plant. But that is no longer my concern."

#### Walesa's Actions Ridiculed

Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 24 Jan 83 p 2

[Article by Statysta: "Reaching for the Screwdriver"]

[Text] Alongside the course of events related to the long-range perspective concerning war or peace, the great press agencies of the West give daily accounts of the procedure regarding the job of one Pole. This citizen, Lech Walesa by name, sees to it that there is a daily supply of pretexts for bringing him up on Western television, on the radio, and in the press. Therefore he uses letters to the shipyard that he wants a job. He sets up press conferences under the open sky. He falls to his knees in public places. At every move of this job applicant the streets of Gdansk are filled with a cavalcade of cars filled with foreigners with cameras, film lights, and tape recorders.

Usually hiring people is a bland procedure, the filling out of some sort of form in a dusty little room in an office. The spectacle Walesa is providing shows that a good producer can turn the most mundane office procedures into a colorful exhibition.



The essence of the conflict over which the world agencies and tremendous numbers of television firms are so excited is extremely comical. In a dramatic voice Lech Walesa informs them that his hands are itching for work in his old shipyard, where he urgently wishes to get a production job with a screwdriver in his hand. In answer to this the appropriate authorities tell him to go ahead. Let us start to finally take care of it. In response to this Walesa says that he is not going to take care of the formalities related to applying for the job, because this goes against his principles and his honor and dignity, and then he again emphasizes that he is drawn to his job. It is interesting that none of the Western journalists taking part in all this procession following the applicant for blue-collar employment has had it occur to him that perhaps Walesa the electrician is by no means so anxious to tear into the job as he vehemently protests that he is, inasmuch as he is more suited to a role in a spectacle than to working with a screwdriver.

Every job applicant in Poland must first of all take care of the formalities in the place where he was previously employed and then take the appropriate papers to the new employer. This is the way things are everywhere that industrial civilization has reached. There is no doubt that Lech Walesa previously was employed as the leader of the former "Solidarity" union, because this is a public fact of which everyone in Poland and the world is aware. By virtue of the law, the representative of the previous employer is now Mr Boleslaw Napieraj, administrator of the assets of the former "Solidarity" National Commission and Regional Administration in Gdansk. And now here is the game that is going on over this.

Walesa says he is anxious for a job.

Napieraj answers this by saying that that is fine, but the formalities need to be handled.

In response, Walesa says that he wants to work in the shipyard. "Do you intend to create some sort of difficulties for him?" administrator Napieraj is asked by a DZIENNIK BALTYCKI journalist. "No," responds Napieraj in an interview printed 20 January 1983. "However, I need to handle the formalities related to Mr Walesa's being hired in a normal job, and he is making it difficult. I do not know why." This is a peculiar sort of perplexing situation, because they both want the same thing.

On this past 20 January the American agency "Associated Press" told about the sorts of incentives Walesa had for this behavior, explaining his motivation in not wanting to take care of the formalities with Napieraj. They said that Walesa ignored Napieraj's request and told foreign reporters that insofar as he was concerned Napieraj's office did not exist."

In this interview Boleslaw Napieraj expressed astonishment over the fact that Walesa says that he does not recognize him. "What do you mean: does not recognize me?" he countered. "For more than a year each month I have

been paying him more than 32,000 zlotys. The Walesas received food ration cards from me. After he was released from internment I gave Mr Walesa a 2-month rest leave, as he wished. And somehow the whole time he recognized me, and now he no longer recognizes me? Besides that, like every state official, I carry out my state-entrusted duties regardless of whether somebody happens at a given moment to like or dislike my office."

Lech Walesa's failure to recognize the administrator of the assets of the former "Solidarity" union is still more problematic than Mr Napieraj represented in the interview, because, first of all, at one time Walesa wanted to take care of the formalities related to getting a job. On this point he sent his own chauffeur to Napieraj. Because up to that point no blue-collar worker had used his chauffeur to take care of matters related to his getting a job, Mr Napieraj did not use the opportunity to get Walesa's chauffeur's signatures on Walesa's papers. Let us add that no minister or voivodship governor in Poland has until now handled his personal affairs in the offices through the intermediary of a chauffeur.

Furthermore, the very same Walesa who on 20 January informed the American press agency that insofar as he was concerned the Napieraj office did not exist and who a few days earlier according to the British agency Reuters spoke from the roof of his white automobile saying that a meeting with Napieraj would be an affront to his dignity, back on 12 January 1983 fully recognized administrator Napieraj. Relations with him were by no means a problem for his honor. In a letter dated 12 January addressed to the very "plenipotentiary of the voivodship governor concerning the administration of the assets of "Solidarity" National Commission and Regional Administration, Lech Walesa, residing in Gdansk-Zaspa, presented the history of his employment since 11 July 1961, when he took a job at POM [State Machine Center], up to the current time when he worked at "Solidarity." I presume the purpose of the letter to Napieraj was to apply for a 20-percent supplement to his wages owing to the seniority he had, his years-of-service credit.

And so the game continues, to see whether Lech Walesa will or will not take care of the formalities associated with taking a job. It seems as though the issue of the electrician applicant's maneuvering is not one of some procedure or other related to getting a job, but rather that of merely drawing out as long as possible the spectacle for the Western press and television. It is probably a question of seeing that Walesa's name, which now appears less and less in the pages of the Western press, is published for a few more days or weeks. It is probably for this and no other reason that Walesa crawls on top of his car, drops to his knees in the snow, makes some sort of statement, or signs something.

We know from the Polish newspapers that the procedures for hiring employees do not run smoothly, quickly, and efficiently in all factories, but if every worker in Poland went about getting a job the way electrician Walesa is doing, we would probably not build any ships at all, would not produce a single car, and would not manufacture a single pair of shoes either.

## TARNOW PROVINCE PARTY ACTIVITIES REPORTED

## Delegate's Views on Reports Conference

Krakow DZIENNIK POLSKI in Polish 28-29-30 Jan 83 p 3

[Interview with Jozef Majcher, candidate member of the PZPR Central Committee, delegate to the Tarnow Provincial Reports Conference and electrician at the Kopalin POM [State Agricultural Machine Stations], by Tomasz Domalewski and Ryszard Niemiec; time and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] Our discussion can be characterized as timely; the reports conference in Tarnow starts Sunday. You are a person who represents that organization among the central authorities. To begin, the questions are aimed at those whose opinions are valued. At some meetings during the present campaign, numerous critical comments have been made that were condemnatory in the sweeping atmosphere preceeding the Ninth Congress...

[Answer] I understand. You simply want to know my opinion on democracy within the party. Well, I am neither crazy or excessively polite about it. I do not share the opinion that that which accompanied that campaign was incompatible with our principles, our statutes. That kind of lack of self-restraint was the product of the times. The party lost nothing because of it. Here, in Tarnow, there was no "visitation," nor were delegates led by the hand.

The times have ended here and elsewhere when it could be said: To be sure, we have a secretary, but it is not known where he is from; or that he does not care about our area at all. Such people considered their work as temporary, and their main interests were entirely different. For example, if I had a secretary in my rural area--a local resident, then I see what he is doing before noon, and I see what he is doing later. But if he arrives in the gmina only to work 8 hours, what can be known about him? What is he like outside working hours? Is he building socialism or a villa? And if it is the latter, with whose money?

[Question] And this--let us call it--change in the method of selecting party officials was accepted by the rank and file members...

[Answer] It was well received, and permanently too. That is why, for example, Stanislaw Opalko was selected first secretary of the Tarnow KW

[Province Committee] at the plenary session despite another suggestion, and that is why at the later province conference no one nominated another candidate to run against him in the elections. We have noted that it is not necessary. We have also observed the voters. Why is he trusted so much? He does not waste time talking. We have known him for many years as the director of the Nitrogen Plants. For all those years he lived only for the factory or more precisely for its workers. And nothing helped; he had to come out of his well-deserved retirement.

[Question] Does it seem to you that ending the practice of bringing in candidates from the outside, which we generally consider to be a collective success of the current administration, has been considered by some during the martial law period as not to be carried out in the future?

[Answer] Yes, there are those to whom democracy was too much, and who suspect and question everything that has happened in the party after Gierek's departure. One must read carefully the resolutions of the Fourth Plenum, which clearly state the positions disapproved by all the fractions, which have been repeated. The renewal and the Ninth Congress did not please them. None of these fractions now have the right to operate. The party's statute is the same, and the resolutions of the Ninth Congress are the same.

[Question] Do you think that all these ideas you obtained at the party's Ninth Congress will be confirmed in day-to-day practice?

[Answer] If it were not so, why would have I gone to Warsaw? I raised my hand at the Congress to vote for the resolutions and I must implement the agreements made at that Congress. I can see that the spirit of that Congress has not been forgotten in this area.

[Question] Will you have the courage to oppose and bear the criticisms of those who would like once more to play games with manipulating party members, drawing them into a contest that is remote from party democracy?

[Answer] I will state it in another way. I do not know if anyone would dare operate in this manner. Of course--as I already mentioned--certain small groups have appeared, but we can manage them. Personally, I do not believe that anyone would try that again. The Central Committee has taken steps against them which I was hoping for. And to tell the truth, I do not know what Grabski wanted, for example. I read his letter at least twice and learned nothing from it. In it he talks about this and that sort of thing, but the aktiv probably has had enough of that kind of talk.

[Question] You are in a special situation at your mine; you know what is on the minds of the peasants, workers and laboratory colleagues...

[Answer] I do know what people are thinking and saying because I am among them. But my colleagues at work and people where I live also know all about what is being discussed in Warsaw. As soon as I return from a meeting, I get involved in many discussions. Of course, many people are interested in what is being discussed by the Central Committee. I am a worker and live among

workers and peasants; I am aware of their grievances. I know that their grievances are often groundless. But the 11th Plenum of the Central Committee has at last dotted the 'i.' The peasant cannot manage without the worker and vice-versa. Neither one is better or worse than the other; those who take wages for sitting around the workplace and those who sleep in the fields while...

Question Looking at the gmina level, is your partner, the ZSL United Peasant Party, a vigorous ally?

Answer I know the entire gmina ZSL administration. It works well by itself and we work well together. It will continue to be so. I also know that they will implement joint agreements with the same fervor.

Question What do you expect to happen after the party's provincial conference in Tarnow on Sunday?

Answer There will be no time for many problems. Thus, the conclusion is that we will have to select and discuss on the most important ones. I will be working with the agricultural commission. I will try to devote attention to such problems as rural self-government, which should be managing the rural areas. Self-government and production resources are, I believe, the most important problems in the rural areas. Here I am not thinking about large machines because miracles cannot happen at once here; instead I am thinking about assuring the needs of Tarnow's rural areas in the realm of pesticides and herbicides. About 30 percent of the yield is lost because of the shortage of these materials.

Question In Tarnow Province private farms predominate over socialized farms. What advice can be given to party activists to overcome the peasant's aversion to self-governments? What can be done to strengthen self-governments?

Answer In the rural areas everyone would like to get a high price for his produce, but higher production at lower prices is not welcome. Recently, driving about the rural areas, I saw a few barns full of cows that were from private and not state farms. In a sense the aversion to self-government is the result of the existence here and there of a lack of confidence in the state's agricultural policy. The echoes of the Central Committee and NK Plenum presaging stabilization and prospects for peasant ownership are beginning to break down this indifference. This time of change in rural authority is important. The older activists in the rural areas are antiquated, past their prime. We must win over young people, but first we must understand their aspirations.

Question Let us return to party affairs. How is your POP Basic Party Organization doing? Have fewer people left relative to 1980?

Answer Several dozen people left, but I believe it has not weakened us. I am very sorry to see them go. But I also know that they are also sorry. I believe, however, that they will return. There are many more such signals in Tarnow province. An act of stupidity done in the spur of the moment should not disqualify a person.

[Question] You have been a party member for 32 years. When was it the most difficult for you?

[Answer] During the last period. Even the 1950's do not compare to it. I have never experienced such organized pressure on party people. Who allowed this to happen is another matter, but we will leave that subject alone.

[Question] Have you experienced any feelings of emptiness about yourself after 13 December?

[Answer] I have been surrounded by people this entire time. I have always said what I thought and will remain that way. People I work and live with know me. I do not have to pretend to be either someone important or someone submissive. If it were empty about me, I would find a more suitable place.

#### First Secretary Stanislaw Opalko's Interview

Krakow GAZETA KRAKOWSKA in Polish 29-30 Jan 83 pp 3, 4

[Interview with Stanislaw Opalko, Politburo member and first secretary of the Tarnow PZPR KW, by Stefan Cieply; time and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] Comrade Opalko, please permit me to begin our interview with an item of a personal nature. As I recall, you retired from the Feliks Dzierzynski Nitrogen Works in 1978...

[Answer] I retired officially on 1 February 1978, but in practice it was 1 November 1977 when I took overdue leave.

[Question] Did you think for at least one moment in 1978 that you would be starting a political career, that you would be sitting in this office for at least a couple of years, that Tarnow will have a member of the Politburo in your person, and that you would square accounts with Gierk and Jaroszewicz?

[Answer] Those thoughts never entered my mind. Events have to be referenced to time. Just as a novel makes more sense within the climate of the epoch in which it evolves, so too life should be referenced to events. This would not have happened in normal times. It could have happened only in an abnormal time. If it were not for this volcanic explosion, in which I personally do not see many similarities with the events of 1956 and 1970, I would be living peacefully in retirement. But I will tell you honestly that for me it is a privilege to be called upon in this abnormal time. I would not have accepted in a normal time, even if I were nominated.

[Question] What do you think of these times in which your term of office is taking place, spanning, as it is, the reports period?

[Answer] It seems to me that in these difficult times I managed not to do anything idiotic even though the occasions to do so were many. From the very beginning of my service in the KW, I established the priorities that interest me and the method of operation from which I would not deviate. Speaking

honestly, more time is needed to do that which has to be done, but of course I cannot be here forever. But much can be done in that time...

Question May I ask, Comrade Secretary, on the eve of the Reports-Programs Conference at Tarnow's party organization, what are these priorities?

Answer They were defined in February 1982 at the PZPR KW plenum. They are housing construction, health care, education and culture. As can be seen, if people wait in lines for vodka, cannot behave themselves on the street, in cafes and bars, on a bus or in a store, then most certainly they will not behave themselves at home or at work. If there are so many loafers, light-minded, self-seeking, rapacious, jealous people, and egoists, then how can we effectively reform our country? If I could, I would really like also to instill in the delegates at the conference this spirit that speaks through me. Please permit me to return to your first question. If I am known in Tarnow, it is something every director does to some extent. But every director can do much more beyond the factory for his people. Today we talk a great deal about the administration, cadre policy and the reform. A director with imagination is of much more significance than a minister. A minister can be second-rate if his directors are marking time (na miare czasu). But even the best minister will be second-rate if he has worthless directors. Personally, I would not be able to fulfill any function if it did not have meaning, not only in the material sphere but also in the spiritual sphere, which is much more difficult to shape.

Question It turns out, then, that culture is the main priority.

Answer Let us say that it is education instead. Today factories are abandoning houses of culture because they are a problem inasmuch as they do not contribute directly to profit, and the factories have entered into the reform phase. It is as if we would want to build a cottage from unfinished lumber. Look at the rural areas, how empty they have become. What we need most are intelligent people, born teachers, to work in the provinces. And if we as a party have deviated from that, then we must return to it. Concerning the rural areas, we held a joint meeting with the ZSL KW on these questions.

Question I do not know if you are aware of this Comrade Secretary, but Tarnow province is in last place with regard to libraries.

Answer I did not know that, but all bases are suffering everywhere. However, I believe there is much untruth in that. After all, we have schools that stand empty in the afternoon. They contain gymnasiums and libraries. As for people, we need people with imagination everywhere: in industry, in the cooperatives and in the administration. And we must learn how to disturb them as little as possible here, in the apparatus. And that they should show self-initiative and not be afraid that they are doing something wrong. This can happen to everyone. The important thing is that they know we trust them, and that we have a sufficient reserve of understanding.

Question Comrade Secretary, I share that viewpoint but even the base needs to be expanded...



[Answer] Yes, the base also. Lately I have become involved with the difficult problem of special schools for children who for different reasons have been neglected in their development. We need to organize at least three such schools in Tarnow, Debica and Bochnia.

[Question] I see that we are entering an area of special concern to you, that is health care. Please excuse the prosaic question, but when will the hospital in Brzesko be completed?

[Answer] It is finished.

[Question] Without fanfare?

[Answer] Well, it is nothing special to brag about considering the extended investment cycle. And so we held a formal acceptance ceremony, and the break-in and finishing-up period lasted 1 year. Naturally, we do not want anyone to get sick but in mid-February when the hospital will be partially filled with people, when operations start, then we will invite the ministries, press and whoever else is needed.

[Question] The provincial hospital in Tarnow also is finally beyond the foundations phase.

[Answer] For a year now, every month a meeting of the proper staff members is held under my chairmanship with the participation to ministry representatives, and despite all the difficulties of 1982, a plan for its construction was completed for the first time.

[Question] Congratulations, that is some success! However, the housing construction plan has not been finished despite all the priorities.

[Answer] Comrade Editor, forgive this digression, but among other things, this is the price we must pay for 1981, which was a year of great misfortune, in which the economy not only hit bottom but such confusion arose in people's minds that it will take a couple of years to recover. I am no longer young; therefore I look at results and not intentions. In the construction industry, as in the entire economy, and even more so, labor productivity fell, and coordination and teamwork of participants in the investment process deteriorated. We will talk again in one year when all our persistent actions finally begin to show results. Already, today, plant construction has started, and the Nitrogen Works and Igloopol have something to be proud of. I also believe that we must continue to improve housing construction until we can reduce the waiting period for housing to 5 years.

[Question] Comrade Secretary! Everyone has high hopes for the reform. What is your evaluation of the current status of its implementation?

[Answer] I also have faith in the reform if for no other reason than I am the chairman of the Central Committee Commission on Economic Reform and Economic Policy, and I believe that finally we will see something to its conclusion, and we will not stop in midstream. The year 1982 cannot be used as a basis for



judging the reform because a number of uncertainties still existed, and not all mechanisms were yet in operation. Also, it would be an exaggeration to say that we have come to an understanding at the working level concerning the reform. However, as far as the engineering cadres are concerned, the reform has been implemented adequately. However, the excessive wage increases compared to work output in the plants is disturbing, which is not improving the implementation of the reform. The comprehensive party controls which effect the largest 20 enterprises in the province demonstrated this. I do not want to make a judgment here because it is just the beginning; it should be remembered, however, that in the fatal year of 1981 the enterprises in our province lost 41 marks of quality, and these must be regained.

Question Many economists are very concerned about the extent of delayed investments. What is it like in your region?

Answer If 60 percent of the outlays are designated for housing and the food complex, then it is not surprising that many projects had to be delayed. In our province, some Nitrogen Works departments, among others, require urgent reconstruction. The expansion of Stomil and the PIM [State Inspectorate of Materials] Engineering Production-Servicing Facility and several investments related to protecting the environment had to be delayed; as far as I can recall, a total of 37 projects had to be delayed. But keep in mind, Comrade Editor, that many of them were inserted into the plan without taking into account the possibility of their realization. In 1981 one-fourth of investment outlays were not realized, but in 1982 it amounted to barely 80 million zlotys, that is 3.6 percent of the plan.

Question At last we are getting our feet on the ground. Apropos 'ground,' what is the status of food management? What are the trends in Tarnow Province, for example?

Answer We are not a very typical province. Barely 5 percent of our area is socialized, and the farms, as you know, are small. The average farm is 3.56 ha. In addition, there are 70 persons per 100 ha of arable land in our province, compared with the national average of 44 persons. Still, the soil is not managed too badly; our agricultural production does not deviate too much from the national average. You ask about the trends. I am not a specialist, but I can say that in our province uncultivated land decreases over 20 percent, and we have harvested so many potatoes that we will not have to "import" them from other provinces. The most disturbing trend is the continuing decrease in the stock of sows, the result of external pressure designed to create tension in Poland. I will give a drastic example so that no one will think that we are exaggerating the problems created for us by the Reagan administration. In 1981 ranches depending on corn imported from the U.S. produced 10,500 tons of poultry meat which represented 22 percent of the meat consumed in the province. In 1982 all 91 ranches had to be closed, and those meat supplies are no longer available.

Question Comrade Secretary! We are holding our discussion on the eve of the Provincial Conference. This will be an occasion to recapitulate the period that just passed, to sum up the party's strengths and weaknesses, and

to outline the plans for the immediate future. What is your opinion of the party organization in Tarnow? Has the loss of about 8,000 members weakened the party's ranks? What is the mood of the activists, of the lowest echelons?

[Answer] I think that today the party is stronger. The significance of the party depends not on the number of members but rather on the feeling of ideological and organizational unity. Naturally, I am sorry to see some people leave, those who decided to leave because of family or environment pressures, who were carried away by emotion. The path of return to the party is open to them if they examine their views. As for the others who did that, may they live in peace. You ask what the party is like today. The party is not an abstraction, it represents a kind of mirror of society, its attributes and values, but also its shortcomings which are impossible to escape despite the positive steps taken to eliminate such people from being inducted into the party in the first place. I believe that today the party is much more aware than it was 2 years ago of the need for discipline, morality, justice and spirit.

[Question] But are not the lower party cells lost in their own apathy?

[Answer] A large part of the public today looks upon the authorities with particular mistrust asking themselves the question: Is the government capable of getting us out of the crisis? With regard to this attitude, the characteristic principle is: "Well, we will see!" It is not surprising that a certain number of party members share this view. But look at the positive phenomena. Look how the demagoguery has dissipated, of which there was so much and which sowed its seeds everywhere. Look how placing the blame for everything on the central authorities has faded, how their resolutions are no longer protested, and how the lower rungs of the party also are becoming conscious of their responsibilities. A tremendous moral renewal has also been brought about. We cleared the ranks of careerists and upstarts. I believe that two moods are dominant in the party today: satisfaction and anxiety. Anxiety on the economic front and satisfaction that dualism of authority no longer exists, which divided the enterprises. It is true that the trade unions are rebuilding a bit too slowly, but perhaps that is better than if it happened too quickly.

[Question] You mentioned the trade unions. I would like to throw in a question about the situation of the former activists: Nowicki, Krasnodebski and Sikora were well-known names a year ago.

[Answer] Since you asked about that I wish to state that internment was the domain of the disciplinary and political authorities, which I believe is proper; they were not even informed about the decision. I knew the people you ask about, and as I recall they were released before 13 December 1982. Nowicki in general was not interned. And regarding those who were sentenced, the appropriate factors are now in place for their release. It is a peaceful province, and it is a question, literally, of a couple of people. If a person recognizes his errors, he need not be eliminated from social life.

[Question] Let us return to the main thread, which I believe is the need of the party to gain the trust of the people.

[Answer] It is neither a straight nor short road. Silent acceptance does not mean there is truth; it means expectation. At the same time, the party cannot make promises it cannot keep. That would be the worst thing to do. We cannot let anyone down today. Our apparatus should be aware of this. It should understand that it cannot philosophize, that its role is to inspire and to advise. Our resolutions must be realistic. "Credibility" is a word that is now in the party's vocabulary, and I believe and hope that it will always bind us.

#### Reports Conference Deliberations

Krakow DZIENNIK POLSKI in Polish 31 Jan 83 pp 1, 2

[Article: "The Provincial PZPR Reports Conference in Tarnow: We are Ready to Fulfill our Obligations Properly to the Public; Outlining the Directions of Further Activity"]

[Text] Tarnow. Sunday. The assembly hall of the F. Dzierzynski Nitrogen Plants Center for Continuing Education is filling up with delegates to the Provincial PZPR Reports Conference. It is 9 am. The assembled are signing the Internationale. Stanislaw Opalko, member of the Central Committee Political Bureau and first secretary of the Tarnow PZPR KW, opens the deliberations. He states the legality of the meeting. Of the 241 people assembled in the hall, 207 are elected conference delegates. The first secretary invites the following guests to participate in the work of the conference's presidium: Manfred Gorywoda, PZPR Central Committee secretary; Stanislaw Gebala, director of the Central Committee Economic Department; Wit Drapich, chairman of the OK FTN [All-Polish National Unity Front Committee]; Boleslaw Faron, minister of education and upbringing; Stanislaw Kukuryka, minister of construction and the construction materials industry; Stanislaw Partyla, president of the ZSL WK; Zygmunt Pacyna, chairman of the SD WK; and Col Adam Szegidewicz KOK plenipotentiary.

Stanislaw Opalko delivers the KW paper.

The next speaker is Henryk Krzyzak, chairman of the PZPR WKR [Provincial Revision Committee]. During the reports period, the WKR's control-revision activities concerned intraparty and financial-economic problems and affairs. It was stated that certain shortcomings exist in party activities; our own resolutions as well as those of the higher echelons are not always fully implemented. The WKR also analyzed the course of implementing the economic reform.

Next, Jan Markowicz reports on the activities of the PZPR WKKD [Provincial Commission on Party Control]. The provincial and local commission on party control had much work to do during the reports period. The attitudes for people responsible for accusations formulated by party organizations and

contained in letters to party authorities were examined. On a proposal by the WKPP, 76 people were expelled from the PZPR and 55 were disciplined. Among the most important task of party organs presented by the WKPP chairman is the further, fast reaction to incidences of deviations from marxist-leninist norms, especially by fulfilling the leading functions in the PZPR.

Stanislaw Nowak, governor of Tarnow Province, concentrated on the WRN [Provincial People's Council] 3-year plan that was approved several days ago, in which special attention is placed on problems concerning housing construction, agriculture and health care. Our agriculture can meet the province's market needs; we can be self-sufficient provided the rate of land reclamation is increased and the province's workplaces obtain the machinery and agricultural equipment they ordered. This year, the province will receive more chemical fertilizer. It is necessary to give more help to the farmers so that they could expand animal breeding; 40,000 farms do not breed pigs and 20,000 do not breed cows.

In evaluating the housing construction situation, the speaker emphasized the necessity to use the inherent reserves in the cooperatives and workplaces.

The cooperatives should not be administrators exclusively; they also must expand the construction of single-family homes. Much also depends on when an enterprise call a overhaul-construction group and when construction of housing starts for their workforce. This year 9,500 housing units are needed. This does not mean that we should stop at that number. On the contrary, it should be increased. In the cities land for single-family housing construction is diminishing, they are expanding beyond their limits. Already 6,000 new building plots have been layed out in the cities and 10,000 in the rural areas. In health care, the most important investment continues to be the provincial hospital Tarnow; 500 million zlotys are allocated annually for its construction. A second contractor has been employed to accelerate the tempo of work.

Discussions begin in five problem groups. Below are short summaries of their deliberations.

In the group concerned with intraparty problems, the delegates focused on conditions defining the fulfillment of the leading role of the party in the workplace. In this context, the selection of leading cadres that are recommended by the party was acknowledged to be the most important, emphasizing the absolutely necessity for the nonschematic interpretation of the principles of nomenklatura. Mieczyslaw Witowski, a Nitrogen Works delegate, formulated this problem accurately; he stated that above all the nomenklatura controls operating results designed to fulfill accountable obligations.

Much time in the discussions was devoted to the party's presence in trade unions.

The group concerned with education, culture, health, social welfare and sports concentrated above all on schooling and bringing up the younger generation. It was said that the teacher who is burdened with the responsibility of shaping the character and mentality of a student is overloaded with work not related to the teaching process. Extracurricular tasks take up so much of his time that very little time remains to improve his qualifications and become specialized. It was stated that the Teaching License gives him rights, but in practice they are not observed. Shortening the existing workload is questionable, and the average pay in education does not equal the average pay in other professions.

Problems related to health care also are discussed. Jan Puchala of Bochnia, among others, focused on these problems. He said that in the immediate future there will be about 400 hospital beds in the province; this is an improvement though still far from equality with other provinces. There is a shortage of people willing to enter the nursing profession. The number of classes and schools for midlevel medical personnel should be maintained or even increased.

In the group discussing economic affairs, most time was devoted to problems associated with implementing the reform. It was indicated that here and there the ministries continue to interfere too much in the affairs of the enterprises, which is not in accordance with the spirit of the reform. However, it was stated that in general the principles of the economic reform are working out in practice. In several speeches, pleas were made for patience in judging the result of the innovative assumptions in the economy--everything can be resolved with administrative methods.

Because of its dominant position in Tarnow Province, the problems of the chemical industry were also discussed. Much was also said about wages, costs and employment.

Can more housing be built? This was discussed by the group concerned with housing construction and investments. Certainly it could be done, and above all it should be done. The large number of people waiting for housing is evidence of this. However, the plans do not engender optimism. The primary obstacles for accelerating construction are the shortage of parts manufacturers and enterprises for installation work.

Over one-half of all new housing is single-family housing. Much is said about it, but comprehensive help is still not available. Also, construction enterprises need new standards as a basis for work remuneration. The best wages can be made working abroad or on private homes.

However, we can build on our own, not waiting for a housing allotment from a cooperative. The young people of Tarnow are trying to demonstrate this. Factory housing is also being built. This form, however, has not achieved proper standing; and then again, the young people achieved the first but not necessarily the best experience.

Problems hampering the expansion of agriculture and how to achieve good results dominated the discussions of the Agricultural Problems Group. Stanislaw Nowak of Nowy Wisnicz, Wawrzyniec Wilk of Cerekiew and other farmers criticized the poor prices for agricultural products and brought up the problem of profitability of production. Much attention was devoted to ensuring resources for agriculture by industry, the high prices and low quality of machinery, fertilizer and equipment; land reclamation and the need to improve the standard of living in Tarnow's rural areas.

Manfred Gorywoda, PZPR Central Committee secretary, participate in the plenary discussion. He said, among other things, that the party's positive activities averted even greater disturbances and economic destabilization. As a result of past events, the party became tougher and its function as leader was restored. However, that is not all that has to be done. It is the first stage in overcoming the political and economic crisis. The party's attempts to regain public confidence continue. Attempts are continuing to find solutions to the problems brought about by the erroneous economic policies of the 1970's. Current tasks will be based mainly on seeking reserves to make production free of imports, improve labor productivity and increase market production.

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## DAILY RUNS DISCUSSION SERIES ON ASPECTS OF NATIONAL ACCORD

## Basic Questions Posed

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 31 Dec 82, 1-2 Jan 83 p 3

[Article by Janusz Stefanowicz, Waldemar Szczepanski: "Ten Basic Questions"]

[Text] ZYCIE WARSZAWY has become in recent months a leading organ of the national rebirth movement. This statement finds its confirmation in two different sets of materials on this topic which have been recently published by the Basic Marxism-Leninism Problems Institute of the Central Committee PZPR and by the PAX Association. Both these institutions use, almost exclusively, the articles from our newspaper. From its very beginning the interests of the new periodical POLITICAL EDUCATION go in a similar direction. This periodical is being issued by the Main Method Center of Political Study and Science. That is why both our editorial boards have agreed to discuss this topic together. It could be defined as a prologue to a broad public discussion about the future of Poland and of the Poles. The intent is to obtain an indispensable clarification of the essential themes of this discussion. These themes ought to lead us to shape our national understanding.

We are hereby inviting all--scholars and lay people, participants in the system of government and those who are outside its reaches, Catholics and marxists, the eager and the skeptics, those reconciled and those rebellious--to take part in the mutual formulation of an essential network of concepts through which we shall define better, albeit probably never perfect, social relationships and structures for the country.

We are hereby proposing, as an opening move, to decipher and to endow with actual meaning the following 10 concepts. We consider them to be fundamental, though somewhat arbitrary in focus, and we recognize that our choice most certainly ought to be broadened through this discussion.

1. What is Poland's contemporary *raison d'etre*? This question seems to be unfounded because all those who accept the constitutional order of our country know that the concern here is with the foundations of our socialist system and our alliance with the Soviet Union. Yet, our past 2 tempestuous years, as well as the entire history of the People's Poland both indicate,

within the framework of the existing conditions of our [political] system and of our alliance treaties, that our understanding of the *raison d'être* is quite variegated, and that, in any case, this understanding begs to receive a new societally holistic definition.

2. Related to the previous question, the following general question concerns the shape which our sociopolitical and economic system is to assume in the future. It asks: Is there a specifically Polish path to the realization of the socialist ideas of social justice and multifaceted development of human personality? If the answer to the above question turns out to be yes, then the question following this answer is: How does such a Polish path look? These questions generate another question which is being commonly posed throughout our nation: Is socialism reformable? We would like to stress here that we are not now supplying a "model" profile of specifically Polish qualities of socialism. We are not doing it, because we think each socialist country ought to be authentically itself and inimitable.

3. The above-presented problem leads us to the new one: What is the nature, at present, of this indisposable Polish national characteristic which we are accustomed to define as pluralism? Is that only a characterological individualism, or is it a more general feature, which is a need, characteristic for a commonwealth, to recognize the actual existence of an as broad as possible spectrum of principles and of social, group and individual, behavior which would be reflected (to what extent) in the socialist political system and in the rules of its public life?

4. From here there is only one step to the next problem: What is the nature of the many-sided viewpoints of our public life, and of the ensuing coexistence viewpoint in our country? This problem has been posed unchangeably, among other institutions, by the PAX Catholic movement. This problem has been also treated on a broad front among wide circles of our society as a natural and, for Polish socialism, a vital consequence of the meeting between marxist and Catholic church viewpoint on social matters. The time has come to fill it with a content that results from our social and political dialogue.

5. This in turn leads us to the question on how large a territory should this dialogue encompass, and what should be the content of the fundamental understanding, or in other words, what should constitute the political "consensus" in present-day Poland? This is a most fundamental question for the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth. This movement does not want to be a "nonparty members party" or a government organ. It wants to be "organized public opinion" and an investigator of such government moves which would be in agreement with both society's expectations, and with the superior national and state interests.

6. This leads to a resulting problem of aim, which concerns the nature of the outreach, shape and contents of our national understanding. It is known, as General Wojciech Jaruzelski reminded us on 12 December [1982], that we cannot and must not speak on every matter with one and the same voice. However, we ought to distinguish the things that must be in common to all, as a basis of this understanding, from the things that may be understood differently, without at the same time leading to powerful social conflict.



7. The very essence of this understanding lies also in the process of socialization of our socialist country. This statement must be treated today as a self-evident one, because no understanding is needed when all our country's problems are being decided exclusively at the top. However, the experiences of recent years also indicate that finding a balance between the "vertical axis" of nationhood, that is between the structure of the government and the "horizontal axis", that is, the subjective participation of society in public matters, is an urgent and necessary task. The finding of such a balance is of particular importance to the various forms of self-government that strengthen the social foundations of a strong, efficient and just country, and, of a country that, above all, translates as "the concentrated and organized rule of its society" according to K Marx. The urgency of deciding the above problem has been reflected in the course of the proposed law concerning national councils and territorial government, the original premises of which have shown its lack of a more general concept and exposed it to justifiable criticism. So what is the nature of self-government, and what are its limits?

8. It is known that to juxtapose authorities with their society is an inexcusable simplification of this matter. We confront divergent interests, ideologies and aspirations of classes, groups and social environments in every modern and mature society. Frequently, these divergent views are being formulated in a noncollective or even conflicting manner. This fact presents another fundamental problem for future PRON activity: How are we to separate, to articulate and to balance the postulates of individual groups of our society?

9. Social differentiation ought to find its expression in political representation. Therefore of urgent importance is the task of working out methods of social consultation in decisions made by the authorities and also of the principles by which electoral bodies get their nominations. Thus, a question arises: How can one define socialist democracy especially through the prism of electoral candidates?

10. Finally there is a fundamental question for the reciprocal understanding of our civic duties: What are the contemporary contents of Polish patriotism? How should we frame and order those features which could become a mark of a conscious, rational patriot in upcoming years, vital for the future of our country?

The list of 10 questions that has just been presented is neither exhaustive nor, perhaps, entirely accurate. By formulating these questions we hope to provide an impulse to a deeper discussion of the fundamental network of categories of our national agreement. To clarify these categories is of interest to both sociopolitical practice, such as is cultivated by ZYCIE WARSZAWY, and the theory of public relations, which is of interest to POLITICAL EDUCATION. That is why the individual responses will be printed in both these publications, then, they will be gathered together in book form. We are hereby inviting your opinions in this discussion.

Warsaw, ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 12-13 Feb 1983 p 3

{Article by Wladyslaw Loranc, director of the Ideological Department of the PZPR Central Committee: "Ten Basic Questions. Let us not Proliferate Entities Beyond Those Necessary"}

[Text] Janusz Stefanowicz and Waldemar J Szczepanski, having asked their readers 10 questions, presented an easily-memorized political decalogue of the modern Pole. This decalogue has one obvious fault when compared with the famous prototype. It is a collection of definitions which carry a semblance of meaning primarily because of the context in which they coincide with each other, or background of earlier recognized descriptions and analyses of political tradition. The Decalogue defines a believer duties to God and reciprocally to other believers as well as the human relationship to the world of objects. However, "Ten Basic Questions" propose to modernize the sense of traditionally used notions, or to establish reciprocal relationships between these notions.

The above-mentioned article which intends to engender a discussion over the fundamental political problems, does not use any of the following words: worker, farmer, intellectual, craftsman, entrepreneur. It refers only to citizens. It does not contain a notion of social class, but only notions of groups and environments. It does not seem to need the notions: capitalism or imperialism to describe the objective correlation of conditions representing Polish statehood. Moreover, it uses only once the word socialism functioning other than as an adjective [attribute], that is in the question: Is socialism reformable? Finally, this article contains many such phrases as the citizen's duties, rational patriotism, inimitable systemic solutions, the structure of authority, political consensus, socialization of the country. This article contains many other words like the above mentioned. The majority of those neither name the economic events nor inform about the state of basic political facts. They form an abstract verbal substitution for the facts that decide the direction and the sense meaning of direction of the forces of society.

I have not written this to press any accusations. I simply want to state, accepting the invitation to this discussion, that the difficulties in mutual understanding do not depend on the "creation of a fundamental network of notions that would organize thinking in what concerns public matters." Poland is not a modern tower of Babel, whose inhabitants have suddenly experienced such a confusion of tongues that they would need translators and linguistic experts to facilitate their "coming to an understanding". If we have suffered and continue to suffer from confusion it is between the voice and its echoes, a confusion between emitted and reflected light. We are talking about public matters using metaphors rather than direct statements. We are confusing results with intentions, and political aims with their moralizing form of representation. Nobody is counting, yet everyone relates what the results are to amount to. Many say they are not experts in politics, nor do they want to be. Yet that fact, usually easy to prove, does not create any obstacle in anyone's volunteering categorically-voiced postulates addressed to politics and politicians.

A complex twist of causes has divided Polish society into more than classes and strata. Before the world of objects brings back balance to the world of thought, we must speak on politics in a clear and unambiguous manner. While we keep in mind algebra and higher mathematics let us exercise some accounting. I see no other way which truly leads to a mutual understanding. I am coming out of such conviction, and I shall respond to the questions presented in the political decalogue in the same brief manner as did the authors who wrote these questions.

1. "What is Poland's contemporary *raison d'etre*?" The answer, as general as is the question, is: Poland's *raison d'etre* is to defend the status of possessing the Poles. However, our society is not like an amoeba whose shape changes depending on the moods, the blows and the grudges it holds. Our society has both a permanent structure and an interplay of interests that depends on this structure. In it, there are two groups possessing a decisive influence. These are: workers and farmers. They organize what is most crucial, that is the defense of our territorial fact of ownership. Yet they also decide the social context of the state which by its own power guarantees us our present and future home and guarantees that we shall not become merely the tolerated lodgers in any part of this territory.

The defense of the Poles' state of ownership today amounts to the defense of the permanence of our borders and the protection of the irreversible social advance of the worker and farmer class. The contemporary Polish *raison d'etre* signifies, therefore, the indivisibility of our territorial defense from the continued advance of the fundamental classes of our society. The pacts and agreements are not reducible to their military aspects alone. They are effective only when their military essence and class justification both function as of equal consequence. In the 38th year of reconstruction of Poland's political system one cannot define Poland's *raison d'etre* otherwise than in the above terms. Does this mean that all we are interested in its existence or that we are afraid of changes? In my conviction it is absolutely not so! Only that Pole respects the Polish *raison d'etre* who knows that we can undergo changes together with, rather than in spite of Europe, or independently from its complex situation. Only he respects that who utilizes his knowledge of the above fact. Every other attitude signifies an option between the social interest and the Polish *raison d'etre*.

2. For at least 25 years now, the problem of national paths to socialism has not been causing any violent political emotions. It has been theoretically prepared and its theoretical framework has been shaping the building of socialism in each of the countries that entered the path of establishing socialism. I shall say it directly, it is increasingly more difficult to continue comparing the strategy and the tactical moves of socioeconomic transformations. It is easier to compare the fundamental institutions of the socialist societies and the situation of social class in these countries, especially to compare the positions of their workers' classes.

It seems that the requirements we place on solutions cannot be such that they would be, and I quote, "authentic and inimitable," but that they would be effective, and that they should lead to our purpose framed within political categories, not just moral ones. If one is on one's way to the city called

TOMORROW one cannot, at the same time, be on one's way to the city called YESTERDAY, unless of course, one wants to prove that the earth is round and all is relative. The problem is not how authentic our path is, but whether we reach our purpose. The path to socialism is, in the case of each and every nation, its own. It has been decided by their economic and social conditions as well as by their political tradition. The Polish path leads along socio-historical artifacts. Consideration of these artifacts is not a deviation from our purpose, as the orthodox would term it, nor is it a peculiarity that would diminish the importance of this purpose, as the revisionists would term it. It is a way of constructing what we have in common with others--a way of constructing socialism.

3-4-5-6. I admit that I know of no "indispensable Polish national characteristic termed pluralism," unless this term represents a notion borrowed from the philosophers. Such a notion defines the statement that also in politics there are entities which are, therefore, also attitudes or orientations, so different one from another that they cannot be brought to a common denominator. If this were so, such a concept, in the realities of our European systems would threaten to antagonize the social classes. Therefore, such a concept cannot be contained within the socialist political system. If this term represents a new name for the continuously wrong tendency of our people to be citizens each in their individualistic manner--then, every Pole is a two-legged Republic freely making pacts with another sovereign. If this is so, we would do better analyzing and describing this phenomenon using different characteristics of it, or as one says learnedly nowadays, by the use of a different syndrome.

The notion of pluralism understood naturally, without evoking valuational conflicts, could be referred to the world-view aspect of Polish public life. Naturally, differences do exist in it, and they are obvious. Their existence side by side in our social life is oftentimes a colliding existence. In the final outcome, such existence is beneficial for our intellectual life, and in a broader sense, for the properties of our national culture. The acceptance of the pluralist principle in the ideological sphere is not synonymous with a search for an even balance that, in practice, would mean total lack of ideology. [Understanding it] reversely out of respect for the best pages of the history of Polish culture, signifies a struggle of each partner for his own picture of the world and for his own concept of human life. We have a great deal of experience in that area and, continuing this in unison, we could eliminate the risk of return of bad experiences.

I shall reiterate my conviction briefly. Mutual understanding in regard to the contemporary *raison d'être* and purpose, which is the building of Polish socialist society, will lead us to finding the appropriate way to end these divisions which made our country weaker than it was and than it is in its objective possibilities. These divisions have led to the weakening of our country because they deprive the working class of the strength which rests in its numbers and in its inherited consciousness of a difference of interests between the social classes. These divisions also weaken the alliance between workers and farmers. In my understanding of the people who favor abolishing these divisions have created the movement which calls itself the Patriotic

Movement for National Rebirth. It is neither one more political institution administering the country in our already complicated political structure; nor is it "organized public opinion," impartially as Province judging the actions of the politicians it observes. But rather, it is a popular social organization accessible to everybody. It is a movement that prevents the imposed divisions and alienations in the sections of government from becoming petrified. Government representatives do also participate in this movement, but on the principle of equal partnership.

7, 9. In this point of the political decalogue the authors touch upon the most important matter. They formulate it as follows: "to find a balance between" "the vertical axis" of nationhood, that is to find the structure of authority, and between "the horizontal axis", that is "the subjective participation of society in public matters." After the unfortunate government administration reform of 1975, this is truly, a matter of particular importance. We have to search for an equilibrium. We have to build such a type of democratic government so that we would not get rid of "kratos" [rule] while strengthening "demos" [people], and so that what has been thoroughly brought to life through political elections, would at the same time be good, that is effective in its functioning. I see a way out [to achieve this] only through the consequent return to the unlimited power of the national councils. In the framework of these councils, whoever governs must be elected in the same manner as those that control. He ought to be one of the councilmen whose particular administrative duties find an opportunity in specific entitlements. To socialize our country means nowadays to strengthen its worker-farmer composition. The electorate ought to have a direct influence upon the functioning of the national councils when these become strengthened. Our large statistical numbers and the type of social relationships inform us that such influence must be exerted, above all, by worker and farmer voters. As a matter of fact, solving this dilemma will create an objective basis for a correct solution to the daily functioning and practice of the national councils and the Sejm, in so far as go the relationships between the political parties and their functionaries, the representative bodies and the administration that is controlled by these. From this point of view, we have to redefine the role of the party clubs of Sejm representatives and the role of the national council teams. "To socialize our country," beyond the above structures, would be to unnecessarily multiply political entities.

8. I shall answer the 8th question briefly. Setting up the authorities against society always marks a desire to rapidly achieve the state of double-rule. No society has ever been outraged by differences of interests of its composite groups, provided that the authorities have ways of moderating sharp and divergent interests. In our case, this depends above all on the establishing of a dynamic equilibrium of purposes that is based on the specific respect for the interests of the workers.

10. The authors make us face a question: "What are the contemporary contents of Polish patriotism? How should we phrase and order these characteristics which could mark it?"

A proper solution of this problem is tied to the answer regarding the contents of the first question. A solid and nonverbal attitude towards the duties that are placed upon each Pole by our contemporary *raison d'être* gives the most important content to the patriotic posture. However, we would do well to remember that an answer to the call for patriotism that brings strength to our national powers arises daily in a million instances of practical public and economic situations, and that this answer is being given daily by 30 million Poles. The motherland is well only when the individual answers create a fact that adds to her strength rather than merely satisfies individual needs. Finally, in our patriotic posture there is a present feature of particular importance to us. We must not demand from our country things it is not in the position to deliver. Without our fulfillment of this condition, our country, which is the only tangible reality of our patriotic postures, will remain weak.

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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF NEW OFFICIALS PUBLISHED

New Construction Minister

Warsaw MATERIALY BUDOWLANE No 10, Oct 82 p 38

[Article: "Minister of Construction and Construction Materials Industry";  
no date or location given.]

[Text] Parliament, on the motion of Gen W. Jaruzelski, president of the Council of Ministers, at its 9 October session of the year dismissed Tadeusz Opolski, M.A., from the post of minister of construction and construction materials industry and appointed Stanislaw Kukuryka, M.A.

Stanislaw Kukuryka was born in 1928 in Zembrzyce, near Lublin of a peasant family. He completed the Technical School of Construction in Lublin and next, law school at Marie Curie-Sklodowski University, earning the title of master.

He began his professional work in 1947. Until 1955, he worked in a department of the Meat Center in Lublin as manager of the investment and construction division.

From 1955-1958, he headed the rural construction board in the presidium of the provincial national council in Lublin and later to 1965, he was president of the board of the Lublin housing cooperative and subsequently to 1966, director of the central sector of the housing construction cooperative union.

From 1967 to 1972, he fulfilled the function of assistant to the president of the central board of the housing construction cooperative union in Warsaw.

In 1972, he was appointed president of the central board of the housing construction cooperative.

A delegate to 7th and 8th terms of Parliament.

A member of the Polish United Workers' Party.

The president of the Council of Ministers appointed Tadeusz Opolski, M.A., as undersecretary of state, assigning to him the duties of first assistant minister.

#### New Domestic Trade Undersecretary

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 7 Dec 82, p 2

[Article by PAP: "Annals of Cadre Changes"; no date or location disclosed.]

[Text] (C). The president of the Council of Ministers, on a motion by the minister of internal trade and services, appointed Roman Mackowski, M.A., to the position of undersecretary of state in that ministry.

Roman Mackowski was born in 1939 in Sanok to a working family. He completed advanced studies at the University of Warsaw where he earned a master's diploma in law. He began his professional work in 1960 on the supreme board of the union of rural youth in Warsaw, where he was employed until 1966, more recently as head of the organizational bureau. From 1966-1970, he functioned as assistant head of the organizational bureau on the Supreme Committee of the United Peasants' Party [ZSL] and secretary of the provincial committee of the ZSL in Katowice. From 1970-1972, he was secretary and later vice-chairman of the supreme board of the Fighting Youth Union [ZML]. In 1972, he was appointed as vice-chairman of the presidium of People's Provincial Council at Kielce, where he was next appointed to the position of vice-voivode. From 1975-1981, he was voivode in Radom, later advisor to the vice-president of the Council of Ministers, and since February 1982, head of the organizational division in the main committee of the ZSL.

#### New Krakow Mayor

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 10 Dec 82 p 5

[Article by (PAP): "Annals of Cadre Changes"; no date or location given.]

[Text] The president of the Council of Ministers in conjunction with the appointment of Dr Jozef Gajewicz as first secretary of the Krakow Committee of the Polish United Worker's Party dismissed him from the position of mayor of Krakow, and after seeking the opinion of the National Council of the city of Krakow, appointed Tadeusz Salwa, M.A., to that position.

Tadeusz Salwa was born in 1943 in Bogumilowice, province of Tarnow, to a peasant family. He completed courses at Jagiello University in Krakow, earning the title of master of administration. He began his professional work in the Krakow housing installation enterprise, where he was employed until 1972, recently as division head. In 1973, he performed the duties of instructor in the regional committee of the Krakow-Krowodrz PZPR; subsequently in 1974, he was appointed to the position of assistant director of that region, and in 1979, regional director. Since 1980, he has been vice-mayor of Krakow and chairman of the provincial planning committee.



Council of Ministers Undersecretary

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 16 Dec 82 p 2

[PAP] Article: "Annals of Cadre Changes"; date and place not disclosed.]

[Text] The president of the Council of Ministers appointed Krzysztof Trebaczkiewicz, M.A., to the post of undersecretary of state in the bureau of the Council of Ministers, and also assigned to him the responsibilities of spokesman for the government in parliamentary matters.

Krzysztof Trebaczkiewicz was born in 1939 in Lwow of an intellectual family. He completed law school at the University of Lodz, earning a master of law diploma. He began working in 1963 initially on the board of the Lodz Socialist Youth Movement [ZMS], and subsequently, from 1966 on the supreme board of the ZMS. From 1970 to 1973, he was an instructor in the organizational division of the central committee of Polish United Worker's Party. From 1973-1975, he performed the duties of organizational secretary of the executive committee of the PZPR in Krakow. In 1975, he was appointed as chairman of the supreme board of the Socialist Youth Union, and subsequently, in 1976, of the Union of Polish Socialist Youth, and in 1977, as chairman of the Supreme Council of the Federation of Socialist Unions of Polish Youth.

Since 1980, he again worked on the central committee of the PZPR, initially as assistant head of the Industrial Division of Construction and Transportation and since 1981--assistant head of the Economic Division.

He is a delegate to the Polish People's Republic Parliament.

National Bank Vice President

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 24 Feb 83 p 4

[PAP] Article: "Annals of Cadre Changes"; time and location not indicated.]

[Text] The president of the Council of Ministers, on a motion from the president of the National Bank of Poland, appointed Dr Bronislaw Jasinski to the position of vice president of the National Bank of Poland.

Bronislaw Jasinski was born in 1924, in Kurlandzkie, to a peasant family. He completed higher studies in the Advanced School of Economics in Poznan, earning a master's diploma in economics and subsequently a scientific degree as doctor of economic sciences. Since 1945, he was employed by the National Bank of Poland, advancing progressively to ever higher positions of employment. Among other things, he was director of the Konin branch of the National Bank of Poland (1953-1954), Gniezno branch (1954-1967) and Opole branch (1967-1971). In 1971, he was promoted to the post of departmental director of the central National Bank of Poland, from where in 1977, he was assigned to work in the International Investment Bank in Moscow. In 1982, he returned to work in the National Bank of Poland in Warsaw, where he continues to perform the duties of departmental director. He is a member of the Polish United Worker's Party.

New Higher Education Undersecretary

Warsaw TRYNBUNA LUDU in Polish 25 Feb 83 p 2

[PAP] Article: "Annals of Cadre Changes"; date and location not indicated.]

[Text] The president of the Council of Ministers, on a motion of the minister of science, higher education and technology, appointed associate prof and engineer, Dr Czeslaw Krolikowski, to the post of undersecretary of state in that ministry.

Czeslaw Krolikowski was born in 1926 in Jarocin, to a working family. He completed advanced studies at Poznan College, earning a master's diploma in electrical engineering, and subsequently, a scientific degree as doctor of technological sciences at the Academy of Mining and Metallurgy in Krakow, and that of assistant doctor of technological sciences at the Lodz College. In 1972, he received the scientific title of associate professor, and in 1978, the title of full professor. Czeslaw Krolikowski has been professionally employed since 1950; initially by the Energy Association, Poznan District, in the position of designer; later, from 1951 until 1954, he worked in the Energy Technical School in Poznan as a teacher of vocational subjects, at which time he was promoted to work at Poznan College as an assistant; higher consecutive scientific posts followed: assistant lecturer, tutor, associate professor, and since 1972, professor. From 1969-1981, he was deputy rector of Poznan College, and its rector since 1982. He is a member of numerous national and foreign scientific societies. He is the author of many scientific studies and textbooks in the field of energy devices. He belongs to the Polish United Worker's Party.

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OLSZTUN PROVINCE PARTY ACTIVITIES NOTED

First Secretary Jan Laskowski's Interview

Olsztyn GAZETA OLSZTYNSKA in Polish 24-25-26 Dec 82 pp 1, 4

[Interview with Jan Laskowski, first secretary, PZPR Voivodship Committee in Olsztyn, by Danuta Kolodziej-Gluchowska and Janusz Brylinski: "We Kept Our Word"]

[Text] [Question] Mr Secretary, we talked to you this past spring. We discussed the critical socioeconomic situation in our country. At that time we said that the restoration of public faith in the party's actions and intentions was a very important matter and that a great deal depended on it. The question from our side was: When will this occur?

[Answer] If I recall correctly, we had our talk in April. The situation was different then, and my answer to the same question will be different today.

[Question] Let us refresh our memories. Your reply was: "When the society becomes convinced that the party program is the optimum program for the nation, but as to when this will be, I do not know. We are working to make this come about as soon as possible."

[Answer] Today I can say that to make the society believe in the party and its program is not an ad hoc affair but a continual process. Let me emphasize the words "continual process." We must work every day to win the public's trust, social prestige, and moral authority, not only through the formulation of a program for the state, the society, and the voivodship or smaller groups and not only through inspiring institutions and people to execute it but by demonstrating daily concern for all human affairs, the normal ordinary matters which on a macrosocial scale can seem small but represent an important vital problem to the concrete citizen. There are so many such issues which come in to us in the form of social suggestions or complaints.

[Question] Getting back to our question, what has changed since the last time we talked?

[Answer] We cannot run away from certain general assessments here. First, in the resolutions of the Eighth and Tenth Party Plenums the party specified the program for getting out of the crisis. This is not a hit-and-miss program but a solid, courageous one which takes into account all the internal and international conditions. Second, throughout the year it has not come to pass that the party failed to keep its word. At the Eighth Party Plenum we said that by the end of this year we would arrest the decline in the economy. We kept our word. We promised that the food market would be put in order -- it is true, with rationing -- and we put it in order. We promised that this year there would be improvement in supplying agriculture with the means of production and an increase in the percentage share of investment outlays in agriculture, and we are making this happen. Third, social activity is coming alive. The Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth (PRON) is expanding. Most of the enterprises have begun to have employee self-governments or are preparing for them. Youth organizations have become active. And trade unions have recently been appearing. In the most abbreviated form, these are the basic changes which have taken place since our talk in April. They were not spontaneous, and it would be immoral to fail to notice the party's role in these processes, and after all, we are talking here about the role not only of the PZPR but also that of the other political groups, the Catholic and Christian secular associations, and the large numbers of active citizens.

[Question] With regard to the voivodship, what have we accomplished?

[Answer] Let us take the example of education and child care. We have turned around the process of centralizing rural schools. Some branch schools have been turned back into independent facilities. The transportation of children to school is well developed. An issue which has kept coming up in the past and seemed all the more difficult under the conditions of the crisis has turned out to be manageable. We have also seen the end of the problem of the shortage of funds for the summer program. For the first time its organizers had as much money as they needed. There was not enough money for all the people in all situations, but there had to be enough for the children, and there was. Did the party have to get itself involved in this matter? Well, how do we know what would have happened if the party not not become involved?

[Question] And the situation in other areas of voivodship life? For example, in agriculture?

[Answer] In agriculture we established the priority of investment outlays for land reclamation and for the rural water supply. For the first time in many years we fulfilled the reclamation plan. We brought 5,500 hectares under reclamation, compared to 2,600 hectares the year before, when some people said that after Solidarity's registration we would be eating rolls

with butter and ham. As never before we did a good job of supplying the rural areas with coal, and we did a job that was not bad at all in providing a supply of chemical fertilizers.

[Question] In the economic sphere, did we accomplish all that we intended to? In one discussion we ran into the term "black optimism," with reference to the fact that the closer we come to the facts, the less likely we are to be joyful over them. There are goods on the shelves, but they are expensive, more than sound reason can stand. We are happy that there is employment for everyone and that new employees are even being sought to fill jobs, but the productivity of factories is not increasing.

[Answer] I have not run across the term "black optimism," and it is obviously foreign to the groups I come into contact with and the people I know.

[Question] But the phenomena we mentioned in passing do exist.

[Answer] First of all, let us establish what sort of goods we want to talk about. There is not the slightest doubt that general use items that everyone must buy cannot cost so much, and if such instances occur, because we cannot preclude the possibility of ordinary wrongdoing, we censure this action quite severely. The bodies created for this are operating at this moment in an efficient manner, in my judgment. On the other hand, there are so-called luxury items. Why should they be inexpensive? I do not understand why the citizen who many times pays speculators far more than he ought to complains about the socialized producer's price. I cannot afford many of these things either, and there will continue to be many things I cannot afford, but I do not feel unhappy over this fact. Social needs constantly increase. The concept of the standard of living changes. The problem is that we cannot live beyond our means. As for the other question, about employment, we will turn now to the subject of the shortage of labor and the decline in productivity.

It is not true that everyone is so happy over this. Of course, we are indeed pleased that we do not have unemployment in Poland, despite the crisis phenomena in the national economy, but it is a fact, on the other hand, that we are concerned about the irrational utilization of employees. Now let us expand here on this shortage of labor. Where did it come from? Well, first of all, we managed to get ourselves Saturdays off from work, which greatly reduces the number of working hours over the scale of the year. Second, we have expanded social benefits, introducing child care benefit allowances for mothers who are raising small children. This decision was of course correct, but it had its economic consequences. Third, we reclassified many occupations for first-grade employment, which means extending vacation leave. Fourth, plants are reluctant to change their employment structure. Basically there is a shortage of employees directly engaged in production, but there has been no decline in auxiliary services.

Nonetheless, I should like to provide some justification for this situation. The maintaining of services without reducing them numerically is a manifestation of optimistic thinking that the factory is running at full speed. And then it will be difficult to find professionals with top qualifications and skills, but more and more plants are getting into full swing. Let us add that the structure of employment is the internal affair of the enterprise itself. I am counting on the employee self-governments to take a close look at the matter, for them to get rid of the abnormal phenomena in employment themselves. Nobody will do this for the self-governments. And, fifth, I would also mention the introduction of accelerated retirements, which have been a sensitive point in only certain occupational groups.

[Question] Which means that in analyzing all the elements of the situation, we can talk about optimism.

[Answer] But not dark optimism, and not rosy optimism either.

[Question] In social life various burning issues come up. Is there some sort of typical circumstance which gives rise to them?

[Answer] Let us not forget that we are living through a period of severe political struggle. Both the external enemy and the internal one have attacked us throughout this whole year without a let-up. The enemy has tried to sow ferment and unrest, to exert moral pressure on active people. All sorts of opportunities have been used to stir things up, any sort of anniversary marking the passage of a year, a month, a week, even. Any occasion was a fitting one if only it was possible to evoke unrest. The propaganda from Western broadcast stations in particular is very aggressive. Many people have caved in to this propaganda pressure, but this group has been getting smaller from month to month. More and more people are noticing that the antisocialist groups have no constructive program and are not being guided by the Polish *raison d'etre*. Social attitudes are becoming more stable. Today we can say that most of the society is against various sorts of trouble-makers, and is for peace, order, and consistent work.

[Question] The past few months in our voivodship have been rather peaceful.

[Answer] And how do you know this? Your newspaper more than once told about cases of actions designed to incite people, street demonstrations calling for a strike, to so-called peace marches in Olsztyn. The fact is that these actions had no great support from society in Olsztyn Voivodship. We did not basically have any work interruptions, and the street demonstrations found no great support from the population.

[Question] There are phenomena which are irritating. Too often they make our life more difficult. I am talking about things like bad habits, laziness, efforts to keep the situation comfortable for oneself.

[Answer] There are always tendencies toward the existence of this sort of phenomenon. It is not just a question of bad habits. I often see how many people are not inclined to take care of something or help someone, even though they could do so, if they do not have to take care of the matter or help the person. The person does not do it, because he does not have to. And I think this is more dangerous. We know from our contacts in the field, from the letters we receive, and also from the people who come to us with complaints, requests, and frustrations. There are a lot of them. The medicine for this is not just to improve the party's control functions but those of all the democratic, social bodies. We must all want to combat these phenomena.

[Question] But do we want to?

[Answer] Passively, yes. On the basis of "Let the higher authority come and take care of this." On the other hand we are too weak in the action we take against these attitudes as a society, through our own activity. Certain attitudes of people are not understandable to me. Please explain where a situation like this comes from. The child of a peasant or of a worker graduates from school and goes to work in an office, and although he is familiar with his parents' sad experience and sometimes his own, he acts in exactly the same way as his predecessor behind the desk. Perhaps instead of sociological deliberations, what we need is for the parents to teach their children a sense of respect for older people, for the other fellow. Nonetheless, it is encouraging that during this year there has been great improvement in the way offices function, and the culture of their contacts with the citizenry has improved. Most of the employees try to do an honest job of discharging their obligations. On the other hand, the behavior of people trying to remain comfortable, heartless people, should be countered with greater resistance on the part of the communities and group involved.

[Question] In this complicated life, social, and economic situation, what is the role of the party? How can we rate the party today?

[Answer] This year the party has become stronger, more robust. I think that it is far stronger than it was not just a year ago but also several years ago. It is true that it is smaller in numbers. Some of the people have left our ranks. Some of them have been expelled. But the number of active members of the party has increased significantly. People active in the political struggle but sensitive to all sorts of manifestations of evil and to those phenomena that we were discussing a moment ago. Sensitive to the ordinary everyday human problems. And this is the qualitative change which has taken place in the party ranks. Despite the weaknesses still occurring in many groups, our party organizations are playing their leadership role better and better. We became convinced of this during the reports campaign too. In the discussions at the meetings and conferences, three subjects basically predominated: how to realize the leadership functions more effectively in one's own community, what sort of methods to use to

help bring about the development of the management and administration of our own plants, to the improved functioning of our own institutions, and how to expand the social activity of the community.

[Question] On the threshold of the new year we are beginning with the suspension of martial law we would like to ask the same question we asked during our last talk [in April], when we asked about the prospects for the immediate future.

[Answer] You are expecting too much from me. It is difficult to tell everything. There surely will be progress in the economy, especially in industry, despite the sanctions of the Reagan administration and the countries of Western Europe, serious sanctions. There will be the positive effect of the changes made in the economic mechanisms, further help from the socialist countries, especially the Soviet Union, and above all a rise in the production activity of the society. Although we cannot promise too much in return, there should also be further improvement in social attitudes, a rise in the sense of security, an increase in trust that our joint effort is producing results, that it is not being wasted. On the occasion of the New Year and also the traditional holiday which is a church holiday for some but a family holiday for everyone, I wish the residents of Olsztyn Voivodship above all peace and tranquility in their families and places of employment.

[Question] Thank you for the interview.

#### Secretary Adam Weselak's Interview

Olsztyn GAZETA OLSZTYNSKA in Polish 15-16 Jan 83 pp 1, 4

[Interview with PZPR Voivodship Committee Secretary Adam Weselak, Olsztyn Voivodship, and Deputy Chairman of the PZPR Voivodship Committee's Inner-Party Commission Tadeusz Pogorzaelski, by Janusz Brylinski: "Time Is Proving the Party Right"]

[Text] [Question] At the outset a question of a general nature: How, in your opinion, gentlemen, are the most important processing going and how have they been going in the life of the party organization following the voivodship reports-elections conference in May 1981?

[Adam Weselak] I do not think that your question is formulated in the best possible way. So many tremendous events of such great importance have occurred and there have been so many periods different one from the other since the reports-elections conference in the life of our party that the answer to this question would be bound to be far more comprehensive than one usually gives in press interviews.

[Question] Let us try to select the most important events.



[Weselak] They were all important. They all went together to make up a logical whole. They formed a logical chain. Despite the opinions of some, there was no coincidence here. And our adversaries did not operate spontaneously either. They worked with cool calculatedness. Everything from their side was planned and carried out consistently. The fact that the situation began to stabilize was not a case of chance either, but the result of concern, of farsightedness, and of the effort of many people, among them members of the party. For this reason I think that if we want to assess the extent to which the reports and elections conference resolution was carried out since the conference in May 1981, we have to recall the socio-political situation in which that conference took place, as well as the conditions under which its program was carried out. First, a few words about the conference itself. This was a period of severe political struggle, when the party, ideologically scattered and internally heterogeneous, had to start learning to fight. Let us add to this the fact that many party members then were not yet free of a guilt complex, a complex we should not forget, one thrust on us by the adversary, exerting pressure on the attitudes and views of many party members. The adversary was well aware that by leading the party to internal conflicts it could most effectively eliminate it from the political struggle. All these factors were bound to and did have an impact on the course of the conference and its decisions. This was a fact, and we had to and still must draw conclusions from it. I do not intend by this to reduce the great contribution the conference made. I merely want to emphasize the complexity of the conditions under which it was held.

[Question] These conditions were no different during the first stage of implementation of the resolution of the conference either.

[Weselak] They were no easier, and at time they were even more difficult. Each day it gave the party new tasks stemming from the development of the situation. It brought up tasks dictated by life, tasks which could not be anticipated at the moment we approved the program. In undertaking these difficult problems, the party at the same time had to seek ways out of the crisis in which it found itself in also.

[Question] One could say this was like a battle on two fronts, the internal one and the external one. In making a balance-sheet of these operations, what can be chalked up on the achievements side?

[Weselak] First of all, the fact that in our voivodship the party did not allow itself to get shoved off to the fringe of political, social, and cultural life, although there was great variety in the level of activity of the various party groups in various periods and situations. At any rate, there was no truth to our adversaries' claim that the party is no more than its salaried machinery. We were judged to be a "peaceful" voivodship. But nobody gave us this tranquility as a present. We owe the peace to the civic and political commitment of, among others, the very decided majority of our party membership. Let us add that our party's truthfulness

and right founded on principle managed to come out on top in the course of severe confrontations.

[Question] During this difficult time not everybody in the party lasted and stayed the course.

[Weselak] That is true. Along this difficult course some left. Life tested them, but the party was not made weaker. The people who left were by and large those who only appeared to be walking the same road with us, people who at the time of trial revealed their true motives for belonging to the party, but we are fully aware that many of those who left the party are valuable people, committed to its cause, but they made their decision during a time of ordinary human failure. This is the price the party had to pay.

[Question] What influence did the introduction of martial law have on party activity?

[Weselak] Under the new changed conditions we observed a significant rise in the activity of all party units, especially the basic and departmental party organizations. Party members participated with greater commitment in the work of their organizations and outside them as well, for example in the people's councils. The experience acquired in an earlier period also helped provide an activating influence. The party acquired a certain skill in conducting political warfare, in employing arguments which the party always had, after all, but had not always employed skillfully in practice. It learned more fully how to assess political phenomena properly, how to determine their roots, their foundation, their mutual relationships. Not all had this knowledge and political analysis skill to an adequate degree, but we know that it must be continually learned, and we must always be sensitive. By the nature of things martial law gave the party additional political, social, and economic tasks implied by the extraordinary situation. After all, the trade unions, employee self-governments, and various social associations and organizations which played a concrete role in our life were not operating, but at the same time, let us remember that the martial law situation indeed changed things but it did not suspend the political struggle. The adversary remained, changing its form of action but still trying to have an impact on the thinking and attitudes of people. We saw attempts to organize various sorts of drives, demonstrations, and strikes, and the fact that they did not enjoy broader social support is also testimony to the fact that we ceased to be novices in political warfare.

[Question] Martial law has been suspended. What sort of consequences does this fact have for the life of the party?

[Weselak] The party's goals remain the same. They were clearly specified in the resolutions of the Ninth Congress and the plenary sessions of the Central Committee. At the moment the most important tasks are the party's role in building social understanding, in developing and bolstering the

Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth, assuring social peace, inculcating the economic reform, which is an indispensable condition to getting out of the crisis. These are some of the targets of the party's program, but only some. They are issues of basic significance to social existence. Program goals remain the same, but there must be changes in the mechanisms for carrying them out under the new conditions. The trade unions will be brought back to life. The work of the self-governments will be renewed. There is no way of overestimating their role in the process of implementing the economic reform. The party in turn, in its activity, must work out appropriate forms of cooperation with the new organizations of social and economic life, giving them help and support.

[Question] Since we are talking about work under the new conditions, let us call to mind that the resolution of the voivodship reports and elections conference talked about the necessity of expanding the role of the basic organizations.

[Tadeusz Pogorzelski] The basic issue today is the bolstering of the role of the basic party organizations (POP) in the communities and plants in which they operate. Based on my observations and participation in the work of these organizations, I can say that most of them not only are undertaking in proper fashion the problems disturbing the community or plant but are also resolving them properly in practice. We are harvesting the fruit of earlier experience in cooperating with the social commissions and other bodies appointed during the period of martial law. Worth special emphasis is the ever greater consistency with which the party organizations are carrying out not only the projects involving their own membership but also those of nonparty communities. These matters vary and concern concrete issues, production issues, social issues, employee affairs. At the level of the echelon we are seeing more and more visibly the attempt to formulate resolutions unequivocally, to set deadlines for implementation and designating people responsible for their implementation. To make a generalization, we are observing a rising tendency to put things into concrete terms in proposals, statements, and actions. This was confirmed by recent meetings and report conferences.

[Question] How about some examples?

[In party practice we are finding more and more consistent, conscientious reporting to give an account of the suggestions and resolutions undertaken earlier, increasingly careful preparation for meetings and conferences, and in the fact that discussions are dominated by direct approaches and deliberation. This was the way it was, for example, at the conferences in Wielbark, Swietajno, and Pasymo. We should mention one other thing, when we are talking about the reports conferences, about the great commitment of members of the leadership of the party echelons and the delegates in preparing those conferences. One other observation: proof of the growing role and strengthening of the POP's position in the community and the plant might be the fact that more and more party members are being chosen by the workers to represent them in their representative bodies.

[Question] What weaknesses continue to occur in party work? Can we say that in general the party organizations provide an inspiring function to an adequate extent in the field in which they operate?

[Pogorzelski] I already said earlier that most of the party echelons and organizations are discharging their role properly, but there are also the weaker organizations, which are having trouble building up their moral authority. They are not consistent in their work, which is obvious in the small number of meetings held. They do not take up the important problems of the plant and the workers. They do not have an impact to create an atmosphere of good honest work. We cannot always be satisfied with the level of party training, the frequency of meetings. Not all the party organizations make an assessment of party member attitudes. They do not react with the necessary energy to improprieties occurring in the workplace or the community. The reaction to socially adverse phenomena is often weak. Such party organizations have a very forceful impact on the development of a negative opinion of party members among people outside the ranks of the party, and, as a consequence, because this must not be precluded either, of the whole party. In eliminating the adverse phenomena in intraparty life, the basic echelons play a special role. Meanwhile not all give adequate assistance to the secretaries of the POPs and the party organizations. This applies particularly to the rural organizations, in which these weaknesses are most apparent. Here I have been generous in supplying examples of adverse phenomena, but we must view them in proportion to the beneficial, favorable phenomena. For this reason, I repeat once again that most POPs are operating correctly and are undergoing transitions which merit recognition.

[Question] Coming back to the main subject of our interview. What is the main difference between the situation in the party today, prior to the next voivodship conference, and the situation prior to the conference in 1981?

[Weselak] Most generally speaking, the party is no longer arguing over goals. It is not asking: Where are we going? On the other hand, it is discussing the ways to achieve quickly the goals set down in program documents. We are not coming to the conference without achievements. The delegates realize the value of these achievements. I personally feel that they are not small, although they are surely smaller than the needs we have or the aspirations we hold. We have achieved more, though, than the conditions and situation under which the 1981 party voivodship conference was held indicated.

[Question] Thank you for the interview.

# Secretary Tadeusz Jelski's Interview

Osztytn GAZETA OLSZTYNSKA in Polish 20 Jan 83 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Olsztyn PZPR Voivodship Committee secretary Tadeusz Jelski and with Marian Ceynowa, chairman of the Ideological Commission of the PZPR Voivodship Committee, by Stanislaw Jermakowicz: "We Are Keeping a Firm Grip on the Ground"]

[Text] [Question] The tasks stemming from the resolution of the 18th Voivodship PZPR Reports and Elections Conference were carried out under the conditions occurring in the existing socioeconomic crisis, which was apparent also in the weakness of ideological work, and it seems that at the conference no way was found out of the impasse. What were the causes that went together to bring this about?

[M. Ceynowa] Because it is also difficult to separate ideological issues from any other sort, economic, social, or political. They all have a bearing on one another. They are linked together in inseparable cause-and-effect relationships. The past clashes between theory and practice also undermined confidence in the ideology itself and brought about stratification in distortions in the sphere of practice, and after all, ideology cannot be separated from life. It should be a standard of measure for our actions, a way of checking to see if the targets and goals are correct and thought through to the end. Therefore, if we talk about the causes of weaknesses in ideological work conducted by the party, then we must remember about what led to the breakdown in socioeconomic policy.

[T. Jelski] The assumption of ideological and ideological-training questions, the approach to these problematics in the 1970's, did not help promote a clear precise specification of the distinct program goals. Ideology lost its expression in party functioning. The hypothesis about national unity, focused around the party, about the conditions existing for building an advanced socialist society, caused a conscious departure from political struggle, the blurring of the existing and growing divisions resulting from error.

[Ceynowa] This departure undermined in the society its basic principles of socialist ideology. The very word "ideology" gave people the shivers.

[Question] But one cannot say that it was absent from our life or even very often exploited. There were constantly new programs to improve or deepen ideological knowledge.

[Jelski] Only that their implementation diverged from the assumptions and targets. In training, the emphasis was placed on quantity, not quality. The measure of progress used in creating conditions for better conducting of lectures was based above all on achievements in preparing the training base, without much concern for the effects of using it. In assessing

the results of ideological training, the major attention was devoted to how many people attended, and not to the mark it led on the students or whether there was fruit in proper attitudes, nor was any attempt made to ground the theory in reality, to have it meet everyday experience.

[Ceynowa] I would say that the slogans provided missed reality, which was more and more noticeable and not part of the slogans. Therefore it is not surprising that the people doing the training sometimes faced attacks from the people being trained rather than understanding.

[Question] And since reality did not fit the ideology, a departure from it began.

[Jelski] What became apparent was almost an entire departure from the sources of Marxism-Leninism, from the history of the worker movement. There was a conscious submission of everything to the concepts of certain people, the presentation of that interpretation of issues which they wanted to hear. The valuation of certain phenomena, attempts at objective establishment of the right, were not accepted.

[Ceynowa] As a result creative discussion in the party disappeared. People in it became anonymous. People stopped paying attention to what they were like, what they thought, how they acted, boiling it all down to one notion, how many people there were. From here it was already a short step to treating party membership itself as a privilege. But after all priority must go hand in hand with requirements, the contribution of one's work, the fulfillment of one's duties concerning specific activity for the party and for society. You get something in exchange for something, but it is bad if in exchange for nothing more than mere membership itself. The blocking of the channels of communication did not permit the flow of healthy current springing up from the bottom, the portrayal of the true picture, that complaints and directions, even those well thought out, are not reflected in the implementation. There is an increase in the possibilities and economics and society, but it does not coincide at all with the goal which was set.

[Question] This is probably the source of the ineffectiveness of that system of ideological-training work?

[Jelski] System? We did not have one either within the framework of the party or in relation to the whole society. Or to be more precise, there was no cohesive, comprehensive, long-range system encompassing the party, the authorities, and the administration, all the government agencies and social organizations, the family, the preschools, schools, colleges, army, and place of employment. The tasks given each were ad hoc and temporary, and each was given a specific little area.

[Ceynowa] We are now encountering the results of the lack of an upbringing system everywhere. In the places of employment it is not rare to run into attitudes which are expressed in the concern only for what the state is to provide and not what it has from itself. There has been no teaching from early childhood, from preschool, concerning respect for basic general human values, to say nothing of socialist values. This is why such hallowed traditions as industry, dedication, and patriotism, often exploited merely as slogans, without any regard for the essence of their content, have become greatly devalued and empty. Neglect in upbringing during the early period of life cannot be compensated for by an institution or even by piecemeal good works projects. Often it is already too late for that.

[Jelski] The role of the mass media exceptionally important and meaningful in ideological and moral training has also often been limited to verbal slogans about unity.

[Ceynowa] The word "socialist" was put onto every undertaking, everywhere. For example, there was talk about the socialist enterprise. And what other sort could there be in our country?

[Jelski] The worst thing that happened was youth's adoption of the consumer life style.

[Ceynowa] It was based on the idea of having the maximum and not in exchange for work. In a word, free, for nothing. Because of cunning craftiness, hidden under the term of "buying power." Various sorts of achievements were put on the agenda in favor of individual special social groups, which was nothing other than buying their goodwill.

[Question] There are surely many causes for complaint, but what else?

[Jelski] The issue is extremely difficult. It is portrayed as the long-range process of building up ideological, propaganda, and ideological-training work, but in deliberating on this subject we cannot omit the basic issue: today we are not in a position to probe scientifically the attitudes, opinions, and aims in the party or society. The lack of in-depth knowledge hampers the planning of work. The knowledge we have is not complete. It is based mainly on statements made during meetings.

[Ceynowa] It seems quite superficial to me, because at meetings the opinions presented for external use sometimes are different from those privately held. I run across the case where these same people talk differently in the corridors. For this reason the search for knowledge about what the working class really wants, what most of the society wants, will not be an easy one. In our country we do not have any really impressive public opinion research center and have never had one. The one operating under the Radio and TV Committee works mainly for that institution's use. In our efforts to make up for lost time, we should also bring the pure model of socialism closer to our consciousness and based on it create educational

and moral training models, economic and incentive systems. How to do that? Surely the 12th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee will provide a lot of instructions. It is true that the issue is very complicated and diverse, but in general terms it is a question of planting in reality the best methods of operation and of determining the time when they will be checked, of providing a vision which will stir up enthusiasm, after attitudes and expectations have been examined. I think that there is such a chance, because people generally have a negative assessment not of the socialist system but of the ways it is implemented, but a great deal depends on the skillful use of our national characteristics, our history, our inclination, our virtues, fantasies, affectivity, hot temperament, and the simultaneous toning down of craftiness and the failure to consider the other fellow, and the honest showing afterwards of the effects of work. Maybe then we will manage to build the enthusiasm to the 1970 level. It was tremendous. Unfortunately it was wasted. It gradually died out, and turned into distrust.

[Question] Is the necessity of more programmed, effective ideological-training work sensed also at the bottom, in the basic party organizations and lowest-level echelons?

[Jelski] Yes, except that you should take into account the conditions which work in combination here: the lack of appreciation of this sphere of activity in the past and the certain working style imposed by the crisis, a style which often directed the entire effort to easing ongoing difficulties. We already have good examples showing that ideological-training activity is taking on good color, but it is not being treated properly everywhere. We have lost part of our experienced, committed corps of activists, which has a negative impact on quality.

[Question] So what are the first steps in overcoming the weaknesses?

[Jelski] In our actions we are keeping a tight hold on the ground. We are preparing people for ideological work. Recently we have been in the throes of creating in the 11 ROPPs [Regional Centers for Party Work] deputy directors for propaganda. They are already in place in seven, will be in two, and are being sought in the other two. Because at the moment the ROPPs came into being, the burden of the tasks performed by the voivodship committee's propaganda and agitation department shifted to the regions, we are trying there to focus the propaganda activists' corps, one capable of carrying on consistent work. We are also training a group of activists at the voivodship level, according to the separate plans for each month, plans which take into account the interests of people from the various branches. We are also using the old forms of training and development, including the Evening University of Marxism-Leninism. In carrying out universal party training we have departed from the quantitative measurements in making evaluations. For the current education year we have designated five required subjects for the POPs, ideological ones. This is coming out in various ways with varying success. The time is difficult, but we are not creating fiction or the opportunity for people to learn fictitious things. In connection



with the centenary of the workers movement we set up, among other things, a symposium at the OBN [Scientific Research Center] and theoretical-ideological conference entitled "The Party and the Basic Values of Socialism." We published the proceedings with the idea of having them reach libraries of schools, basic echelons, and the ROPPs. We are also preparing to publish a jury-selected prize-winning collection of memoirs of worker activists from the period of the beginning of people's government in the Warmia and Mazur areas. This will portray living people dealing with the difficulties which had to be overcome at that time. In all our undertakings we are avoiding everything which one knows ahead of time to be unreal or unverifiable and which can produce more harm.

[Ceynowa] The voivodship committee's ideological commission is carrying activity on along two tracts, within the party (there is concern to see that words coincide with actions, to see that methods of work are effective and follow from reality rather than mere desire) and outside (there is particular interest in progress in carrying out the program the party presented to the society, in having action consistent with the PZPR statute). We feel that honesty in giving an account of our own documents is the way to restore the society's faith in us. In our plan we included a few problematic subjects, but all of them are very important and are related to life. First of all there is the question related to the creation of national understanding, to taking into account the role of party members, the impact of their attitudes and actions on its development. We are preparing for a theoretical-ideological seminar on that subject for the end of February. It will be an attempt to seek that structure which will simultaneously define the attitude of socialism and the field of compromise. We also want to take up the problems of ideological-propaganda work in depth in the rural community, in all the sectors of agriculture. On the basis of scientific research and information from the basic-level echelons, we also aim to answer the question as to how effective that work is, how well it is assimilated, and what more should be done. We are also making an analysis of party training in the POP in terms of its effectiveness and the ways of conducting exercises. We see our commission as an auxiliary body for the whole voivodship organization, as a help in programming the directions of action, in foreseeing the results, and in assessing the past implementation of the resolutions. We are also trying to bring the ideological commission closer to the various echelons, keeping in mind the notion of expanding the basis of thinking, using knowledge from the grass-roots, the importance of having a flow of feelings from the POP to the central committee and back again. This will be facilitated by the maintaining of close cooperation with the appropriate commission of the Central Committee.

[Question] Do you think that the channels of information are open enough?

[Jelski] The current and political information system created is operating rather well between the echelons, but not so well in the POPs themselves.

Usually it only gets to the secretary. And the information coming from the POP often bears the stamp of the feelings of a single person and not the whole group. Since we are still on the subject of information, it is useful to mention the tendencies to bring out local publications, for example in Iławo, Lidzbarek, Warminski, Lubawo, Ketrzyn, and Biskupiec. Consider the fact too that there are three plant newspapers, in OZOS [Tire Plant in Olsztyn], WARFAMA Warmia Agricultural Machinery Factory, and the state farms around Ketrzyn. The publications cover an expression not only of the problems faced within the party but also those of other organizations too.

[Ceynowa] The local papers coming into being are one more proof that the postulates of the various groups are becoming known, count, and are being considered in practice.

[Question] But this is probably not what will determine the society's trust in the party.

[Ceynowa] First of all, as I said, consistency between what we do and what we say and the creation of clear incentive mechanisms to encourage commitment to an issue [are important].

[Jelski] Utilizing the skills, abilities, and positive predispositions that people have.

[Ceynowa] After all, it appears that the circle of people who understand the need for positive work is expanding. The growing Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth (PRON) proves that trust is increasing, but we are still not out of the woods, the period of being aware of errors, of drawing conclusions, of looking for new forms of work, of learning to operate under conditions which are qualitatively different. Nor has the process of the search for ways to bring the party closer to the society come to an end.

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## TARNOBREZG PROVINCE PARTY ACTIVITIES NOTED

## Daily Activities for Working Class

Rzeszow NOWINY in Polish 25 Jan 83 pp 1, 3, 4

[Article by Elzbieta Ciastoniowa, Zenon Dubis, Zbigniew Flaszka]

[Text] (Own Service) The Province Reports Conference of the PZPR, deliberating yesterday in Tarnobrzeg, determined the next phase of reporting on the fulfillment of tasks ensuing from the resolutions of 9th Party Congress and the 4th Province Program-Election Conference. Earlier, such material as the Province Headquarters [KW], WKKP, and the Regional Headquarters [WKR], reports were subject to the appraisal of party members as a whole in production plants in the city and in the country. Advisory, critical, and self-critical meetings enriched scores of motions and proposals for program plans for activities in the second phase of the term of the province level of the party.

Besides 216 delegates, the following took part in the conference: alternate member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee [CC] of the PZPR, Wlodzimierz Mokrzyszczak; member of the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic and speaker of the WZP, Tadeusz Haladaj; Deputy Ministers Marian Skowronski (chemical and light industry) and Jerzy Wozniak (metallurgy and engineering); general director in the Ministry of foreign trade, Jerzy Kapuscinski; president of the Province Committee [WK] of the ZSL, Wladyslaw Gawlik; deputy chairman of the WK of the Democratic Party [SD], chairman of the People's Province Council [WRN], Adam Przybylski; chairman of the Province Office [ZW] of PAX, Bronislaw Kawalec; chairman of the Provisional Province Coordinating Council of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth, Deputy Jan Kaczowski; Tarnobrzeg governor, colonel Boguslaw Jazwiec; military commissioner and chief of the Army Security Service [WSZW], Colonel Wladyslaw Okarmus; veterans of war and labor, Piotr Stenko from Tarnobrzeg and Wiktor Wierzbicki from Stalowa Wola.

## Party Consciousness Means Readiness to Serve the Working Classes

The presentation of first secretary of the KW PZPR, Janusz Basiak, opening the discussion, made an attempt to appraise present accomplishments aimed at improving the efficiency of work, a further restoration of confidence in the party--the chief source of strength, more capable of national leadership and of moving the country out of the deep economic-political crisis.

The activities as a whole should serve, above all, to attain a turning-point in public opinion and public feeling, from silence to joint responsibility in fulfilling the program of socialist renewal. The rise of confidence, on the part of the public, in the policy of party authorities, and the gain of national understanding, will lead to the initiation of positive motives in labor and positive attitudes in work, social life and the individual commitment of every Pole in surmounting the general crisis. The myth of the ineffectiveness and lack of credibility of the party can be refuted by consistent work, the undertaking of socially-accepted tasks, by inspiration to stimulate social response and positive activities.

In this part of his presentation, comrade Basiak strongly emphasized the need for further changes in the methods and style of work by party organizations, especially in production plants where the [following] principle should be observed: "Nothing goes--without the personnel, and behind the back of the party." This is particularly important with respect to the new formulas of autonomy and new laws on trade unions.

The defense of democratic worker's autonomy and of the union structures is in the interests of the party and its cells in institutions; along with the defense of this autonomy, attention should be paid to the fulfillment, through these cells, of their supervisory functions in relation to the administration of the enterprises.

We are the working classes of the party and, therefore, there cannot be a contradiction of interests between the party organization, the authorities, and the union organization. The defense of the interests of the personnel is the bond which should link these three social forces.

We do not propose, said comrade Basiak, among other things, to organize new trade unions with the arms of the party. But our job is the creation of circumstances for their rise, the care for a high level of independence from the authorities for this union movement and also the exclusion of their ever becoming an instrument of struggle against socialism in our country.

Initiatives by personnel in affairs of emerging self-government should be supported. Thus, they would work in accordance with the expectations of personnel and, simultaneously, take into account the interests of the socialist state.

A high level of political, ideological, and economic knowledge among party members is essential to suitable means of discharging, through the party, their leadership role. This arises from, among others, the need to fight for socialist awareness of the people in a given area. One has to remember, however,

that the most sensitive and truest words create only one stream of influence on the people's consciousness; another is the practice of a sociopolitical life, the manner of fulfilling duties to the state, and also accomplishing party policies which will make credible the representative system of ideals and values.

Party consciousness is, above all, a readiness to serve the classes of workers, farmers and the people; a sensitivity to the needs of society and to injustice. Membership in the party is not a benefit, a privilege, but a daily labor, with duties at every level.

In cooperation with fraternal political parties, youth and women's organizations, and cells of religious associations, we created a climate, said comrade Basiak, conducive to the rise of committees for national salvation, and then the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth, which at present rallies over 4,000 citizens in 182 cells. The provisional councils of the PRON are active in all of the cities and gminas, in 55 plants and institutions as well as in a portion of the countryside.

PRON should become the mouthpiece for social opinion, organizer of dialogue as well as mediator in possible conflicts. It should become the organizer of consultation and inspection; an inspirer of actions by the authorities in keeping with the expectations of society as well as of activity by citizens in keeping with the interests of the state and the people. It should be an inspirer for the rebirth of a moral society; an organizer of a social climate insuring a democratic character for the election to basic and municipal organs.

We wish to be and are with that substantial portion of Tarnobrzeg society, said comrade Basiak, which beyond ideological and religious differences, seeks understanding, a common road leading to personal satisfaction and an increase in influence, in strength for our homeland, internal calm, and peace on earth.

Comrade J. Basiak devoted the final portion of his presentation to the discussion of tasks emerging from the resolutions of the 9th PZPR congress, on which the party organizations in the province of Tarnobrzeg should concentrate their activity; such as, among others, the initiation of economic reforms which strengthen the positive tendency in the economy of the province, the democratization of political and social life, the fight with social evil and demoralization, especially the demoralization of the youth, the fulfillment of principles of social justice, the defense of the interests of the working classes, improvement in supplying the market and agriculture, development of the sociotechnological infrastructure in cities and countryside, as well as improving apartment construction, the safeguarding of health and the environment.

#### Mentioned in the Discussion

The following took part in the discussion in succession: Stefan Halabis, a teacher from Godziszow; Anna Dabrowska, an artisan from Stalowa Wola, Jan Mackowiak, shift foreman at the Sulfur Mining and Processing Enterprise [KizPS] in Tarnobrzeg; Barbara Zarodzinska, member of the Executive Board of the KW and I secretary of Central Headquarters [KG] PZPR in Koprzywnica; Michal

Kedziora, manager of the Farm Construction Enterprise in Sandomierz; Andrzej Galicki, manager of the Workshop of the Institute for Experimental Truck Farming in Sadow; Wiktor Wierzbicki of Polish People's Construction and a veteran of the worker's movement in Stalowa Wola; Antoni Piel, member of the Executive Board of the Province Headquarters [KW] and assistant manager of the Electric Schools Cooperative in Nisha; Maria Serafiniuk, a doctor in Nowa Deba; Wladyslaw Wach, a farmer from Gorzyce Province; Piotr Foremniak, first secretary of the Town Committee [KM] PZPR in Tarnobrzeg; Izabela Tomaszewski, a farmer from Zaleszana Province; Jozef Serwatka, first secretary of the KG PZPR in Batorzy, Lieutenant Colonel Jan Korczak, first secretary of the Works' Committee [KZ] of the PZPR in the Province Headquarters of the Civic Militia [KW MO] in Tarnobrzeg; Colonel Boguslaw Jazwiec, governor of Tarnobrzeg; Edward Tęznadel, farmer from Wilczyca Province; Mieczyslaw Bednarczyk, first secretary of the KP PZPR, "Stalowa Wola" Steelworks; Mieczyslaw Biernat, chief manager of the Tarnobrzeg Industrial Construction Enterprise; Sylvester Machula, first secretary of the KG PZPR in Lipnik; Mieczyslaw Pasko, manager of the State Farm Holdings in Chorzewice; Stanislaw Jastrzab, worker in the sulfur mine "Grzybow"; Roman Myk, worker at the Polish State Railways [PKP] Stalowa Wola-Rozwadow Station; and Krystyna Siwiec, chairman of the Province Office [ZW] of the League of Polish Women. Twelve of the participants in the conference submitted their presentations to the record.

The deputy minister of chemical and light industry, Marian Skowerski, addressed the demand which came up in the discussion dealing with the construction of a newly-opened sulfur mine, because of the depletion of the deposits in the "Grzybow" mine. From the explanations furnished by him, it appears that the accomplishment of this very costly investment is feasible, though the final decisions have not been made. He also brought attention to the need to solve some technical problems (e.g., sources of heat to melt the sulfur) as well as the commitment of resources to this undertaking worked out by the sulfur industry.

In the multilevelled discussion, much attention was devoted to the issue appearing within the party: the influence of party organizations and channels on the broadly-understood area of industrial and agricultural production. Proposals and observations from the election campaign were cited. And, though the ranks of many organizations experienced a reduction even by as much as 25 percent, basic party cells simultaneously were fortified organizationally and improved the efficiency of their activities. This is because double-minded, two-faced careerists have left the party. However, workers who lost faith in the efficiency of party work also left. Many of them are now expressing the desire to return to the party and, in the opinion of the discussants, these matters should be clear-sightedly investigated.

In the current economic situation of the country, the socioeconomic problems and economic reforms take on particular significance. The good production results obtained in the last year by many industrial plants, by "Siarkopol," among others, was mentioned. The KizPS, in the past year, increased its yield and processing of sulfur by 4 percent, and also recorded a record increase in exports. In the same "Siarkopol," similarly, as in other plants, the increase of work output is linking itself closer and closer with the increase of wages

through the introduction of the motivation system. The need and possibility of maintaining the positive development trend in the entire economy of the province was presented.

Much attention was devoted to the development of social control and self-government as a crucial element of economic reform. Within this context, the creation of new trade unions was also mentioned.

The problem pervading the workers and urban residents as a whole is the decline of apartment construction. More efficient work in fulfilling the program of the 4th Province Program-Election Conference of the PZPR and the resolutions of the People's Province Council [WRN], establishing a uniform waiting-period for apartments in all urban centers of the province, was demanded.

Those problems, the solving of which is of vital importance to the entire economy of the country, were emphasized during the discussion. The continuation of constructing a section for the production of flat-glass, using the "float" method, in the Window Glass Works [HSO] in Sandomierz is one of these problems.

Much time in the discussion was devoted to the problems of agriculture. The joint Plenum of the Central Committee of the PZPR and the Supreme Committee of the ZSL, which concluded last Friday, was referred to repeatedly, with the statement that the resolution that satisfied the farmers as passed. The deliberations of the joint plenum confirmed that the idea of a worker-peasant union is alive, and an expedient fulfillment of it could effectively quicken the way out of the crisis. In this context, the utilization of every possibility for the development of food production in the province was discussed with concern, since particularly large disproportions between the size of agricultural production and processing and preservation capabilities exist in this area. For example, only 36 percent of the milk production is collected, and the dairies in the province are not in the position to process even this quantity. Even greater disproportions exist in the area of processing and pre-serving vegetables and fruits. Difficulties also exist in the processing of sugar beets. The weaker capabilities of the farm food industry are curtailing the further development of agricultural production. And the necessity to transfer agricultural products and milk raises production costs and promotes an increase in unnecessary losses. For this reason, the need for the construction of a dairy plant as well as the modernization and development of other food processing plants was also strongly emphasized. Attention was also brought to current typical problems for all Polish agriculture. Such as better supply of the means of production, equipment and hand tools, wear of tractors, shoes and soil. The need for accelerating land reclamation and tying a greater interest in the needs of the farm industry were raised. Many of the discussants emphasized the need for a stable price policy, with the retention of profitability in agricultural production on well-managed farms.

Fulfillment of Program Will Depend on Activities of Every PZPR Member

The education will continue to be carried on at the Provincial Organizations of the PZPR, namely the district, town or members and city members of the party, among others, within the framework of the interests of the WRN, with the aid of the teachers.

from the Military Political Academy, was spoken of with a firm commitment. The improvement and enrichment of the system of transferring information from the KW to the next essential level, to plant committees and Basic Party Organization [POP] secretaries, was approvingly referred to, but at the same time attention was brought to the fact that this information does not reach the entire range of party members.

It was emphasized that the ideological principles of a party member must be expressed in his personal attitude, in relation to his work, to the demands he makes of himself and his coworkers. The difficult conditions for the local education staff, the need to increase the effectiveness of the influence of the school and the teacher's environment on the younger generation was discussed.

The hope which party members link to the resolution of the program of activities, was repeatedly emphasized in the discussion. Will these expectations be realized? The fulfillment of the province conference program will depend on the attitude of every party member, on his degree of identification with the program, and on his personal responsibility and commitment. Appraisal of party policy, the building of authority and trust, will depend not on the programs that are passed, but will result directly from how the decisions which were made are incorporated into life.

A close contact between the entire range of party members and the working classes--as was emphasized--assures the present style of managing the work at the province levels. This determines a better understanding of the needs and problems of each environment. It creates the conditions for making the right decision and for quickly responding to social needs. It depends especially on every party member whether these decisions will be fully and consistently carried out.

Next, Jerzy Zaranski, chairman of the motions committee, took the floor. He ascertained that 53 questions were placed on the agenda that dealt with internal party, economic, education problems, health services, trade, transportation and communication. Addenda and corrections to the proposal for a program of activities were also submitted. Among others, all channels and party organizations were obligated to work out in detail a plan for work based on the resolutions of the province conference, taking into consideration the resolutions of the conference of basic channels and factory organizations.

The conference accepted the program of activities of the province party organizations, supplemented by the results of the discussion, in the second half of the term.

In closing, the first secretary of the KW PZPR, Janusz Basiak, took the floor. Treating his own statement as a part of the discussion, he stated that the reports campaign in the province party organizations to a large degree contributed to the restoration of ideological and political unity to the party and its activities, as well as strengthened its ties with the working class. Conditions conducive to the institution of economic reforms, the reactivation of workers' autonomy, and the formation of trade union structures were also created.



The Province Party Conference---said the speaker---ran in a different atmosphere and condition than a year and a half ago. This was a farm debate on the main problems of the province. The problems of agriculture and education of youths were particularly strongly emphasized. As soon as possible, party channels will devote primary attention to this matter, just as to those basic problems of meeting the needs of society.

The conference closed with the singing of the "Internationale."

#### Summary of Wlodzimierz Mokrzyszczak's Speech

Rzeszow NOWINY in Polish 25 Jan 83 p 3

[Text] During the conference, alternate member of the Politburo, secretary of the CC PZPR, Wlodzimierz Mokrzyszczak, took the floor. He recalled the circumstances in which the program of the 9th Extraordinary Party Congress was formed, the period of intensifying political battle, the attacks on the socialist character of our nation, the further development of the situation in the country as well as the influence of these various conditions on the party, and the great numbers in the party ranks.

In reference to the presentation by the delegates, he stated, among other things, that the return to the party by people who had abandoned it is possible only with the approval of the branch and basic organizations that earlier, almost as a rule, determined the cancellations. He emphasized that the crucial task is to build the worker's party in its own character and substance. In treating the internal situation of the party, he said that all of the divisions that had been attempted to be introduced into the party, are being and will be eliminated.

Comrade W. Mokrzyszczak devoted an extensive portion of his presentation to the issue tied to internal party democracy and democratic centralism as well as the far-reaching role of criticism and self-criticism among PZPR members. He also addressed the problems of staff policies that had been brought up in the discussion. Its new principles will be discussed at the 12th Plenum of the CC PZPR, but it is already possible to say that it will rely on give-and-take in party recommendations for fulfilling the assigned duties. Within this context, he brought attention to the urgent need to strengthen party influences in all autonomous organs. Nonparty members--intelligent, judicious and honest--should also be more widely and more frequently called upon. He expressed his conviction that precisely this kind of staff policy earns the approval of the people.

Next, he concentrated on the current tasks of party work, regarding the PZPR and the new trade unions and worker's autonomy. He emphasized the significance of the participation of party members in the work of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON] and OKON cells, as well as the need for improvement in ideological education and training work through, among others, self-education.

He acknowledged that the maintenance of a firm link with the working class and the working peasantry, as well as the outspokenness on problems with which the people are turning to the party, is a fundamental matter in the broadly defined

work of the party. All of this, which is an attribute of the PZPR, which is equally positive for internal party life as for activities in society, should be consolidated and [we should] participate actively in the process of building a union movement and helping youth organizations and workers' self-governments.

In concluding his presentation, comrade W. Mokrzyszczak stated that, in spite of many difficulties, the resolution of the 9th Party Congress is systematically--though unevenly--being accomplished in every sphere of socioeconomic life.

9891

CS0: 2600/390

SIWICKI ATTENDS AIR DEFENSE FORCES REPORTS CONFERENCE

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 9 Feb 83 pp 1,2

[Article by Stanislaw Reperowicz: "PZPR Reports-Programs Conference on Air Defense Forces. Most Important Mission: High Combat Readiness."]

[Text] (From own information) On the eighth of this month, the PZPR reports-programs conference on National Air Defense Forces [WOPK] took place. Delegates representing party organizations within rocket, radio, air and special units evaluated the achievements of the past year and a half, and also outlined directions for further activity by party departments and organizations.

The deputy member of the Politburo of the PZPR Central Committee, vice-minister of defense, and chief of the Polish Army General Staff, Gen Florian Siwicki, and deputy chief of the Polish Army Main Political Board, Albin Zyto, took part in the conference.

WOPK is a specific type of military force whose troops are active in the allied defense system of the Warsaw Pact nations, and are not only trained militarily but are also already performing normal peacetime military missions important to the security of Poland and protecting her territory from surprise attack by air.

Secretary of the PZPR WOPK Party Committee, Lt Col Piotr Muchowiecki, in opening the discussion, stressed that the main effort of PZPR departments and organizations for the period reported has been concentrated in forming proper ideological attitudes, full service readiness, the performance of tasks according to pattern, maintenance of high combat readiness, military order and proper discipline.

This activity may be clearly divided by two time periods: before and after 13 December 1981. In the first period, characterized by great social tension, party members did not give in to the mood of the times but performed their duties with complete devotion. Their behavior had a great influence on the mood and attitude of fundamental services troops, on reinforcing the strength and compactness of the military environment, which was awaiting an enormously important test.

The durability of the attitudes and views formed in that period proved itself in the second period, that of martial law.

Every soldier worked for at least two of his colleagues, who were directed to the disposal of provincial defense committees, and then delegated out to operational groups or to the posts of military commissars. At this same time, many others did service by keeping order on city streets. Although the ranks of the army were reduced, all training and defense activities were carried off according to standards. This attests to the great conscience of the soldiers, both professional and those of the fundamental services as well as to the support given by the Military Council for National Salvation and its leader.

In the recent period the authority of the PZPR has grown and is continually being renewed, and this has shown itself in the constant growth of its ranks. Brig Gen Marian Bondzior, Col Tadeusz Jemioła as well as other comrades spoke about this. The point of the matter is that this growth of membership in different units has a varying character. This state reflects the level of party work and the PZPR's ideology breaking through to young people entering the army from all areas of the country with different experiences, views, attitudes, and all of the personality traits characteristic of our young generation.

Col Karol Janik noted that in order to win over a greater number of young people than before to the party's ideas, it is necessary, among other things, to increase the field of activity for the ZSMP [Union of Socialist Youth of Poland] organization in the army. Senior Warrant Officer Jan Dudzinski spoke about the experiences of this youth organization in his unit. They were good experiences as the unit's chairman was chosen by the chairman of the civil administration of the city and community ZSMP where the unit was stationed.

WOPK commander Gen Div Longin Lozowski also entered the discussion. He highly rated the help given by party organizations to combat and especially pilot training. In his opinion, PZPR organizations may maintain discipline still more strongly than it is presently being done. The commander spoke at length as well about matters concerning care of the troops, emphasizing the educational importance of good work provided by clubs, reading rooms, libraries, and proper organization of free time.

Appearance by F. Siwicki

In the course of the session, Gen of Arms F. Siwicki took the floor and in his introduction conveyed the recognition given WOPK's party organization by first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, Army Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski, for its efforts in daily service fructifying ideological and moral cohesion, good training and in maintaining the combat readiness of WOPK on appropriate level.

The situation in our country, F. Siwicki continued, and also the unusual worsening of the international situation, caused by the imperialistic nations has brought these values to a position of enormous importance. If today

we can say that the country's hardest times are behind it, then it can also be said that soldiers and WOPK as well made an important contribution to this. By their daily vigilance at combat posts and their conscientious realization of the decisions of the Military Council for National Salvation, they assured the security of the nation.

One must, however, be aware of the fact that the threat has not passed and that in relation to foreign danger, its scale has even increased. The main source of this danger is the antisocialist, quarrelsome policy of the United States and the striving of the U. S. administration for military and political domination over the Soviet Union and the entire socialist commonwealth.

WOPK's tasks remain in direct proportion to the development of means for a potential air attack by the enemy, whose growing attack possibilities must be compensated for by improvement of our defenses. It is for this reason, too, that the needs of WOPK are given priority. The abilities of our defensive troops may not be, however, reduced to just technical equipment, because they depend on the standard of training of those people handling the equipment, their deep faith in the rightness of the cause they defend, their sacrifice and decisiveness.

The Chief of the General Staff devoted a large part of his speech to the responsibilities that superior and senior officers have to their subordinates. Commanders at all levels should participate in shaping the awareness of their troops.

In the final part of his speech, Gen Siwicki evaluated the present political situation in Poland and declared that in the ideological struggle with the enemies of socialism, the party organizations strengthened and served their fatherland well. Although since the suspension of martial law, the army is directly participating in the development of the internal situation to a lesser degree, it will however in the long run remain the guarantee of peace and socialist development in Poland.

In the vote taken, the conference participants emphasized the most important tasks facing the party organizations and departments of the National Air Defense Forces in the realm of ideological and educational work and improving combat readiness and discipline.

12261

CSO: 2600/394

## MADEJ MEETS WROCLAW AKTIV, ANSWERS QUESTIONS

PM132321 Wroclaw GAZETA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 17 Feb 83 p 5

[D. Klimek report on Deputy Premier Madej's meetings with the Wroclaw party and economic aktiv 16 February 1983: "The Country Has Gotten Over the Most Difficult Period"]

[Excerpt] Deputy Premier Madej's largest audience assembled at the PZPR Voivodship Committee and included directors of enterprises, party secretaries, lecturers and students on party instruction courses. Besides Governor Janusz Owczarek and Voivodship Committee Secretary Marian Mazur, also present were Chairman of the Wroclaw United Peasant Party Voivodship Committee Bernard Roskiewicz and Chairman of the Wroclaw Democratic Party Voivodship Committee Franciszek Bielicki.

The deputy premier delivered a comprehensive speech on Poland's current economic situation in which he stated that the country had already gotten over the worst patch and that we are at present in the course of overcoming the economic difficulties. Since last August our industrial production has been indicating an upward trend, although its results for the whole of 1982 were still 2 percent below those for 1981 and 16 percent below those before the crisis. With regard to this year's main lines of action, the following deserve special mention: 1--priority in securing supplies for the chosen areas of the economy, and 2--applying production incentives through the use of money and prices. The only problem lies in achieving a situation in which increased profits obtained by enterprises are matched by increased production and economic effectiveness.

We had a year of good crops in our agriculture, but the results in stockraising were unsatisfactory, owing to animal food shortages. There has been a considerable drop in the cattle and pig population (during the past 6 months our farm animal population fell by some 2 million head). That is why maintaining this year's food rations at the present level is going to be a task bordering on the hazardous--the more so as we cannot predict the outcome of this year's harvest.

Speaking on the subject of wages, the market and the cost of living, the deputy premier described the sector of our economy as being the least clear and as giving reason for great concern. This is because, despite the sweeping

price rises and the 102-percent increase in the cost of living, we still have an enormous inflationary imbalance between the money in circulation and its equivalent in goods, as well as a lack of market equilibrium. The phenomenon of quasi-unemployment among the employed is still noticeable, and productivity has fallen. Calculations show that, if productivity were to be maintained at the pre-crisis level, the number of people employed in the national economy ought to be cut by some 800,000 to 900,000 since production has decreased considerably. The government is introducing various steps to improve the situation--among other things, an anti-inflation program has been prepared--but it is not going to be easy to produce results.

In our foreign trade exchange we observe such positive examples as an increase in our exports and the recapture of many foreign markets for our coal. We have had a credit trade balance with the capitalist countries, but this was achieved at the price of limiting our export, which in turn had an adverse influence on the process of making full use of industry's production capacities. We were, however, forced to apply such a policy by the exigencies of the lack of hard currency and our enormous credit liabilities. As to the latter, we have already paid our most pressing debts, mostly to our smaller creditors. Some of our debt in the Western banks has been rescheduled over several years. Poland's current debt to the capitalist countries amounts to some \$25 billion and in 1982 it was further increased by the unpaid interest on the capital sum. As regards the socialist countries, Poland's debt there currently amounts to some 3 billion rubles. It is estimated that in the current year this will grow by a further 1 billion rubles. However, higher purchases from the socialist countries will stimulate our production and our export to these countries, and this should make it possible to achieve credit balance with them by 1985.

Deputy Premier Madej then answered many questions put to him by members of the audience, including some on the subject of the mechanisms of the functioning of the economic reform and the lines of development and export of certain branches of the industry. In the afternoon Deputy Premier Madej met the Wroclaw Polytechnic PZPR aktiv and presented to them a report on the country's current economic situation. He also answered questions from the audience. He was accompanied by PZPR Voivodship Committee Secretary Jan Klamut.

Seizing the opportunity, our GAZETA ROBOTNICZA correspondent put some questions to Deputy Premier Madej.

The first concerned long-term prospects for the problem of our growing debt to the capitalist countries, and the possible line of action to ensure our eventual ability to repay this debt. In his reply, the deputy premier stressed that this question is a key one in our overall economic strategy. So far we have been unable to use those foreign credits to full advantage. A considerable part was spent on consumption: in the 1970's, for example, the proportion of food products in our overall imports rose from about 10 percent to over 40 percent. A proportion of the credits was used to rebuild our industry, and--even if this was not always quite successful--the level of our industry's technological development rose noticeably and in some aspects we succeeded in overtaking some of our neighbors. We must now use this potential to full

advantage, or it will become obsolete and we will no longer be able to produce articles of competitive quality.

The second question referred to a subject which has been debated by CEMA countries for many years: the feasibility of basing the trade exchange among these countries on some real currency that would, for instance, make it possible to use any credit surplus in our accounts with these countries in our foreign trade operations. At the moment, of course, CEMA countries use the established method of balancing their accounts in the transfer ruble, this being an artificial currency used exclusively in bookkeeping, while the trade turnover proper is based on the exchange of commodities according to bilateral agreements. Deputy Premier Madej declared that creating such a currency would be both advisable and advantageous and that Poland, among other countries, is making endeavors in that direction, but that it will probably be a long time before it takes place.

CSO: 2600/599



## BARCIKOWSKI CLAIMS MARTIAL LAW RESULT OF 'PARTY MANDATE'

AU011434 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 9, 26 Feb 83 p 2

[Report signed "M": "There Is No Vacuum"]

[Text] The situation of the party and inside the party before, during, and since the suspension of martial law is presented by Politburo member and PZPR Central Committee Secretary Kazimierz Barcikowski in an extensive interview with Boguslaw Rychwalski in ZAGADNIENIA I MATERIAŁY Number 5. We print extracts from it:

"...If we look back on events from the point of view of the situation inside the party, then one thing is beyond doubt: We were in a poor, a very poor situation and there really were moments when the specter of defeat loomed before our eyes. It is, however, not true--as some people keep telling us--that the party lost heart and did not battle with the opponent. The fact is that we lost successive skirmishes and the party was losing its strength. The outflow of members from its ranks increased not only because of political motives, but also because of normal human fears which arose as a result of the pressure exercised by the opponent. The party also expanded a lot of strength in internal struggles. In spring 1981, a real danger arose that the party would fall apart. This danger was reduced during the campaign preceding the Ninth Congress. Today one can clearly see that the party did not experience such decentralizing trends, stormy polemics and internal upheaval during previous crises. But then there was probably no such strong desire in the past for renewal and there was probably a lack of genuine intentions to protect the party against any future repetitions of crises. I believe the Ninth Congress will go down in history as the congress which defended the party's Marxist-Leninist nature and saved its unity. It is indeed difficult to overestimate the importance of the Ninth Congress for the PZPR....

"Although the party's condition after the Ninth Congress showed improvement, the party was still the object of unforgivable attacks. Let us recall the expulsion of party committees from factories. Although we had at our disposal various sizes of groups of activists concentrated around party cells, nevertheless wide crosssections of party people were full of fear of what the future might bring; there was a lot of confusion and disorientation. Proposing national accord was the final attempt to achieve social equilibrium by political means. The talks held between the state, church and solidarity

were aimed at explaining the stances and intentions held by solidarity leadership groups. These talks--as we well know--did not lead to accord. The solidarity leaders quite simply did not want it; instead they wanted to dictate their own conditions by calling for confrontation.

"So martial law was forced on us by a situation which circumstances had exaggerated far beyond the mere question of to be or not to be a party.... We must not draw hasty conclusions from the fact that martial law was introduced during a period of great party weakness. And those who think that the decision to declare martial law was made outside the party are wrong.... What happened on 13 December happened by party mandate. Is it a coincidence that Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski was elected Central Committee first secretary during the Fourth Central Committee Plenum, or is it a coincidence that he assumed leadership of the Military Council for National Salvation? Only naive people or those who like sowing confusion among our ranks can say that our party was losing its leadership role in the state. The party never watched events from the wings, neither did anyone ever free it from making difficult decisions...."

"The thought that one can build the party's leadership role on the strength of the army is--forgive me--stupid. The party's position in society can only be strengthened with political activities based on programmatic principles. The Ninth Congress formed these principles. They are contained in the slogan: "Rebirth--Reforms--Battle with the opponent...."

The Central Committee secretary describes the current phase of the crisis as follows:

"In a political sense, the crisis has reached a phase where emotions are dying down. The apogee of this phase was the period November-December 1981. Since then, tension has been decreasing. However, this very fact alone has still not brought any results, only that better conditions are emerging for holding dialogue with the workers' class and with the entire community. It depends on the results of this dialogue how events in Poland take shape. That is why the most important matter continues to be our maintaining of political initiatives and keeping ahead of any actions by the underground. Increased party activity is needed for this purpose."

[Question] What hinders the party's consolidation?

[Answer] "In a situation where the party is marshaling its strength and consolidating its ranks, people who misuse the adjective 'genuine' are once again trying to throw the party into a whirl of confusion. I believe that the kind of activity which can give rise to new divisions inside the party deserves political condemnation in the present situation. Unity is the most important matter right now. This is what all active forces in the party should aim toward. The Politburo has adopted a resolution which meets this aim halfway. The Central Party Control Commission has reprimanded some comrades who exceeded statutory limits in their activity."

"As far as the state of the party ranks is concerned, there are about 2,400,000 members and candidate members right now. Two years ago there were 3,160,000. The social structure of the party has also changed somewhat. The percentage of workers in the party has gone down but their figure is still over 40 percent. The percentage of peasants is unchanged. However, the percentage of clerical workers and pensioners in the party has increased. Membership figures in the party still do not display the essential equilibrium; too few people are joining our ranks. This must become a subject of concern by party cells and organizations.

"I believe the party is more active today than it was 2 or 3 years ago. I also believe it is more active today than it was during the Eighth Congress. Of course, by activity I mean the representing of political attitudes and not just organizational hustle and bustle....

"The party situation cannot be considered as static. Of course, one can point out many primary organizations which have still not shaken themselves out of their stagnation and defensive attitude, clear progress is visible. The point is not to concentrate on appraising the party, but to devote more effort into making it stronger. For the political opponent will not forgive us for doing this when he knows that the efficient functioning of the political structures of authority depends on the activity of the party. Therefore, the need for this activity will increase. Besides, generally speaking, if anyone is counting on mental ease in party work, then he will have to wait a long time for it.

"We are faced with many difficult tasks. We must tidy up our own ranks and at the same time fill up the vacant spaces in society left after the dissolution of solidarity.... The exceptional nature of the party situation today is based on the fact that there are no intermediary bodies between our party and the allied parties on the one hand and the community on the other. A social space cannot stand a vacuum. If we do not fill up these spaces, then someone else will.... A multiplication of political ideas does not lie in the interests of our country. A country which is extricating itself from the crisis with difficulty. Contrary to various opinions, I believe that our community can direct its interest and activity without any obstacles in three basic directions: the setting up of organizational structures of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth, the development of workers' and peasants' self-management bodies and the creation of the trade union movement from the foundations...."

CSO: 2600/598

## MOKRZYSCZAK SPEAKS AT KONIN CONFERENCE

AU Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 24 Feb 83 pp 1, 2

[Henryk Heller and Krystyna Sonntag report: "The PZPR Voivodship Conference in Konin"]

[Excerpts] "The role of service vis-a-vis working people as the principle behind daily party activity" was the main theme of the discussion which took place on 23 February at the PZPR voivodship reports-program conference in Konin. It was attended by 260 delegates who represented the almost 28,000 members of the Konin Primary Party Organization. The guests at the conference included, among others, Włodzimierz Mokrzyszczak, candidate Politburo member and PZPR Central Committee secretary, and Edward Lukosz, minister of metallurgy and the machine industry.

Many speakers mentioned the problems enterprises are struggling with concerning production, social and working conditions. Zenon Franczak, first secretary of the Aluminum Mill Plant Committee, drew attention to the need for quickly setting up trade union structures above factory level which would facilitate better solutions to the problems of work forces. Stanislaw Zaremba, a farmer from the rural parish of Pyzdra, speaking of the shortages plaguing agriculture, focused attention on the important problem of social consultation, saying that the adopted methods were not an expression of democracy, but rather a sign of the helpless way in which social opinion is obtained.

W. Mokrzyszczak referred to the remarks made at the discussion and cleared the doubts which had been expressed.

He then presented the most important problems facing party political and organizational activity. He indicated the positive transformations which have occurred in the style of party work after the Ninth PZPR Congress. These transformations concern, above all, the way the outlines of future documents and party resolutions worked out by a consultative team and 16 Central Committee problem commissions are prepared. The public is not only informed of the content of the resolutions, but also of the schedule of work resulting from them. It is work "for all to see." The entire community has an insight into what is being implemented and how it is being done. A new feature of Central Committee activity is also registering the proposals and demands

which have been voiced, as well as the degree of their implementation. The same concerns the way in which citizens' complaints are treated, which is dealt with by the Ninth PZPR Plenum resolution.

We are on an arduous road building up the ideological and organizational cohesion of our ranks, W. Mokrzyrzczak said. Success depends on breaking down the passive and the wait-and-see attitude. Primary party organizations are the most important cells in party work, and they must be a genuine representative of their own social circles.

W. Mokrzyrzczak emphasized the absolute need to develop the line of agreement. But when traveling along this road, we must not fail to take heed of the political opponent. He stressed the need for the party to support the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth Initiative and the development of workers' self-management bodies and trade unions.

Not decrees, but the daily work and personal example of every PZPR member will determine whether the party regains the people's trust, W. Mokrzyrzczak said.

At the close of the discussion, the participants agreed on a program of activity for the Voivodship Party organization up to the end of its present term of office and adopted a resolution expressing profound indignation at the revisionist statements made by the official representatives of the Bonn government.

CSO: 2600/600

## BRIEFS

PEOPLES COUNCIL APPOINTMENT--On the basis of Article 97 of Law No 57/1968 on the organization and operation of the peoples councils, the President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Constantin Dumitrescu is delegated to fill the position of first deputy chairman of the executive committee of the Calarasi County Peoples Council. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 11, 23 Feb 83 p 4]

APPOINTMENT, REMOVAL OF DEPUTY MINISTERS--The President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Sabin Faur is appointed deputy minister of the metallurgical industry, Comrade George Ciucu is appointed deputy minister of education and instruction, Comrade Ludovic Paun is relieved of his position as deputy minister of health, and Comrade Alexandru Oproiu is appointed deputy minister of health. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 11, 23 Feb 83 p 5]

PRESIDENTIAL APPOINTMENTS--On the basis of Article 97 of Law No 57/1968 on the organization and operation of the peoples councils, the President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Alexandru Iliescu is delegated to fill the position of deputy chairman of the executive committee of the Galati County People's Council, Comrade Victoria Bistriceanu is delegated to fill the position of deputy chairman of the executive committee of the Dolj County People's Council, and Comrade Constantin Buzatu is delegated to fill the position of deputy chairman of the executive committee of the Constanta County People's Council. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 11, 23 Feb 83 p 5]

CSO: 2700/150

## PRESS STILL UNDER LC FIRE; 'DANAS' CITED

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 1 Mar 83 pp 12-14

[Article by Jelena Lovric: "The Battle for Better Newspapers: What the Highest Party Forums Have Said About the Press and Its Social Importance"]

[Text] In preparing the long-awaited, but recently announced "ideological offensive" and in striving for that reason to ascertain what the situation actually is on our ideological front, the League of Communists [LC] has recently put the news media in certain of our communities on the agenda of its highest forums. It would be difficult to even enumerate all those who have devoted their attention, time and space to this important topic, but in any case it can be said that the greatest interest of the public was drawn to the discussions of the Serbian LC Central Committee on 7 February (which we wrote about quite extensively in one of our previous issues) and the meeting of the Presidium of the Croatian LC Central Committee which was held 21 February.

The two meetings were similarly prepared, their inspiration was similar, as probably were their intentions. The meeting of the Serbian LC Central Committee was held after several months of discussion in newspaper party organizations and political forums, while the meeting of the Presidium of the Croatian LC Central Committee was preceded by some 70 meetings of basic organizations, 7 action conferences and 6 meetings of the presidium of opstina committees and the Zagreb City Committee of the LC. The breadth of the action helps to make the assertion more convincing that the assessments pronounced "are not an improvisation, are not based on individual impressions and personal experience, but were above all thought through and resulted from a collective effort" (Mladem Zuvela, executive secretary of the Presidium of the Croatian LC Central Committee). But discussions in both places were preceded, it is judged, by dead calm, inertia, deafness to public criticism in the past, which largely brought no results, since the party effort in the media had been largely neglected, for quite a long time the League of Communists had had too little influence on editorial and personnel policy, and the Serbian LC called for "elucidation of the causes behind the increasingly frequent repetitions of political-ideological errors, and indeed even abuses of the media," while the Presidium of the Croatian LC Central Committee took note that the typical adverse assessments made a few years ago are valid even today.

## No Action Was Forthcoming

Acknowledging that there have indeed been changes for the better in the meantime changes which he compressed in the brief observation that "there is somehow more independence and greater commitment in newsgathering," Mladen Zuvella said that those courageous actions and shifts with respect to the agreed policy to revive and strengthen socialist principles are conflicting with the burden of the old conceptions. He enumerated four tendencies in that context: contesting the democratic character of our self-managing society, proclaiming the League of Communists incompetent or not legitimate for future social development, minimization of the achievements of the revolution, and setting up the news media or at least a portion of them (and that a minor portion) in the position of an infallible judge which can even be above society or at least above its institutions and above the League of Communists.

The party discussion and action, which, in the opinion of Stipe Suvar, has for too long not been forthcoming, has begun at the instigation of party leadership bodies, since in the news media there had grown up "spontaneous criticism which both calls names and makes references, calls into question this or that in the past stages of the revolution and casts much doubt on the correctness and tenability of its present stage." And these attempts occurred because for too long they were left to themselves, "the people in them even created their own monopolies and began to advance their own partial commercial interests and indeed even separate political designs."

The press is certainly not an island and cannot be so regarded. Many events and manifestations in ideology find fertile soil in the media. But this position, which is acceptable in principle, cannot be an alibi for the media to cover their own errors and oversights, for an "editorial policy in which there is room for petit bourgeois liberalism and nationalism" and for "the loss of class criteria, of the socialist and self-management orientation" (Serbian LC Central Committee) or: the fact that the life of society is reflected in the news media "cannot be an alibi for the party members working in them" (Presidium of the Croatian LC Central Committee).

## Reflection of Conflicts

Acknowledging that the objective contradictions of our development and the lack of unanimity in other parts and structures of our society even concerning certain major economic and political topics have repercussions for the unity of views in the press, Momcilo Baljak stressed in his introductory address at the meeting of the Serbian LC Central Committee that we are "rightly disturbed by the drastic nature of those differences and the slowness to correct them." In the meeting of the Presidium of the Croatian LC Central Committee Marinko Gruic said that ideological pluralism does exist in society at large, that it has arisen in the League of Communists, in the leadership, and that it then makes its way in the press as well. "We are doing everything to overcome it, but we could use even cannon and rifles, we can wield knives, but we won't put a stop to it so long as it exists at other levels." With no intention of giving himself an alibi as the head of a newspaper or of taking up a defensive posture, Gruic nevertheless offered an example of how two members of the same



leadership body had expressed to him diametrically different assessments of one and the same article. Vlado Mihaljevic joined in this kind of reflection: successes in suppressing ideological differences in the columns of the press which are not tied in with a serious differentiation in the League of Communists can only be short-lived. "At the top level in Yugoslavia or indeed in the republics there are quite substantial differences, indeed even views that are quite opposed on certain essential issues in our development. That is why we cannot win the battle in one area without undertaking a serious battle for differentiation in the League of Communists itself," Mihaljevic said.

"We often hear that what is taking place today in the news media reproduces the political-ideological conflicts in the League of Communists in Yugoslavia and indeed in its leadership bodies. I would say that there is a great deal of truth in this," said Stipe Suvar. "That is why discussion of the media cannot be altogether fruitful, cannot produce lasting results unless there is greater political-ideological unity in the League of Communists with respect to the main directions of our social development. We are all pledged to socialist self-management, but we mean something different by it. One man is thinking of a revision of the economic and political system, and someone else of implementing it. Those who think in terms of revision are encouraging the news media to name names, to call everything into question as the result of the unsuccessful road we have started out on. In the League of Communists we have not as yet cleared all this up, which does not mean that it is not waiting for us. I do not view unity as a mechanical category, but rather it always carries with it political-ideological differentiation, even if we are talking about our leadership bodies."

[Box, p 12]

#### Confidence

Although in Bosnia-Herzegovina there have been no drastic examples in the news media of sensationalist writing that treats social problems and events in other places as "affairs," the Central Committee of that republic's LC stated in its meeting on 25 February that there were also tendencies and cases of privatization of certain media and of tardy and inappropriate reactions to certain events both within that republic and in Yugoslavia. The founders and editorial collegiums, and in particular the bodies of self-management and basic organizations of the League of Communists, are now to commit themselves more to correcting those oversights and shortcomings. The unity of the League of Communists in action has also been adversely affected by certain dilemmas and indeed doubts of whether the policy adopted would be enforced in all parts of Yugoslavia. The Bosnia-Herzegovina LC Central Committee has stated that the party members of that republic must have full confidence in the party organizations of the republics and provinces and in their organs.

#### Encouragement of Criticism

Marijan Kalant also allowed that differences in newspapers occur as an echo of differences in society, and this tends to confuse newsmen. But the question

that arises, according to him, is one of the way this is written about; are the differences to be heated up even more and accentuated and raised to a level where all the differences among the republics and among organizations of the League of Communists in the various republics can be derived from them. Such differences do not exist among the workers, Kalanj asserted, they exist only in "certain other heads."

The criticism pronounced by social bodies has been still more fierce than in the news media, Jure Bilic also said, but, he added, the message has been different. The media are not merely an expression of the situation in society, but "we must demonstrate that aside from that something autonomous is occurring in them and that in the negative sense this goes further than what is manifested in society, that is, in the League of Communists and in its leadership bodies." He even reproached newsmen of the weekly DANAS for having "become so mired in their blindness that they want to make use of intrigues to cause disunity in the leadership. In the corridors from Osijek, Vinkovci and Split to Zagreb they are already passing the word about how we here are slaughtering one another."

However, it would be altogether mistaken to say that the meetings of the Serbian Central Committee and Presidium of the Croatian Central Committee concerning newsgathering coincided in all details. They did differ in some respects, indeed even in certain essential characteristics.

#### Nationalism

Among the many topics which have been taken up in a large number of discussions in meetings of the highest party body in Serbia the most space has nevertheless been given to expansion of nationalism, which "is often given comfortable space in newspaper columns" (Momcilo Baljak), and "to be blind to the obvious manifestations of nationalism is equivalent to being well caught up in it oneself" (Spiro Galovic). All of us in Yugoslavia, he said, should open up our eyes before we get in a situation of being threatened by a serious danger from the nationalistic right, and in that sense it is both a message and a demand as to the decisive importance of our resolutely reviving the practice of fighting nationalism in our community.

We would mention as characteristic only two statements made at that meeting: Momcilo Baljak said in his introductory address that "recently we have had to be seriously concerned because of the aggressive advances of Serbian nationalism on the public scene," and that many of those occurrences are being passed over in silence in the media. This kind of behavior is opportunistic and ultimately expresses an unwillingness to act in accordance with the policy of the League of Communists. Baljak said that today note must be taken in certain editorial offices that the increasingly frequent manifestation of nationalistic views in certain newspapers published in Belgrade that had been detected still earlier was not a matter of "isolated examples and random mistakes, but rather there were tendencies that had struck down serious roots in editorial policy."

"It is a long time since there was so much ill will toward others in our press and so much false concern for the Serb cause," said Spiro Galovic. "There is a tie-up and intertwining of the old nationalistic right and the new anticommunist right, which is just emerging as a tendency on our scene, but it could gain ground if we continue not to be critical enough, especially if the stagnation in the democratic development of society plays in its favor."

#### Specifically About 'DANAS'

"Although in the news media in our republic there have not in general been any general and major problems in the recent past which would raise the fundamental question of their ideological orientation, we still must critically evaluate many adverse occurrences that deserve the attention and action of the League of Communists. Otherwise, if we should take a passive attitude toward these tendencies, we might even jeopardize the basic orientation of certain news media," Josip Vrhovec said in his assessment.

This criticism applies first of all to the weekly DANAS, he then specifically stated. The discussion of negative occurrences in the press pertained mostly, but not exclusively, to the weekly DANAS. Since in our previous issues we have regularly and exhaustively informed readers about all the criticism addressed to their newspaper and its newsmen, on this occasion we will say only that there was a certain diversity even in the assessment made in the Presidium of the Croatian LC Central Committee of the current situation in this editorial office.

Josip Vrhovec, for example, recalled that the presidiums of the republic, the city and the opština party organizations had already devoted attention to DANAS. "However, even now that job is not yet done, it is not done because it was dragged out too long for opportunistic reasons and because it actually turned out that the basic organization of the LC and that newspaper was not able to go to the end in a self-critical evaluation of its own work. It also turned out that the Vjesnik Publishing House has been unable to unravel this problem and clear it up with its own energies, but rather we decided that this was to be done by the Presidium of the Zagreb City Conference of the LC and the Opština Committee of Trnjava. I do not know how far things have gone at this point."

#### Radicalism

"We have visited the basic organization of the LC at DANAS," said Mladen Zuvvela, who has attended almost all the party meetings in this editorial office. "After rather broad discussions, I must emphasize the willingness of party members at DANAS to talk openly about the assessments that have been made. The party members have agreed that there has been radicalism and sensationalism in the writing of DANAS, that PRAXIS attitudes have been manifested or, perhaps more precisely, positions of criticism of everything that exists have been taken up, there were actions that were not thought through, and there has been superficiality in approach. That is why accountability is being sought at three levels: accountability of the team that is managing DANAS--that is, Jozo Vlahovic, editor in chief, his deputy Drazen Vukov-Golic and assistant

Kreso Speletic; and then the accountability of Mladen Maloca, editor of the domestic politics department, and the reporters Gojko Marinkovic and Jelena Lovric; and accountability of the entire basic organization of the LC is also being sought. This is the unanimous conclusion of the basic organization. In carrying out that unanimous decision the basic organization formed a council of comrades to propose measures. I must say that the party members of DANAS have taken this seriously and that they are willing to talk about all aspects of their work," Mladen Zuvela said at the end of his statement.

Mentioning that "it is probably among the most resolute within Vjesnik," Marinko Gruic expressed the evaluation that there had been tendencies in DANAS toward false radicalism, quasi-democracy, elements of scandalmongering, Messianism, of an "unscrupulous sniping," and a certain narcissism. He, however, feels that the process of critical self-assessment has followed a good direction in this collective. Gruic also mentioned that it should be honestly said that sociopolitical factors did not show enough readiness to help a year ago when the newspaper was started, and that the orientation of criticism toward DANAS has created an "umbrella" for certain shortcomings that are manifested in other publishing houses. The principal shortcoming of editorial policy in the publications of the Vjesnik Publishing House does not lie in political errors and ideological deviations, but in a lack of depth as to creativity and commitment to social processes.

That assessment coincides at all points with the observation of Josip Vrhovec to the effect that the discussions up to now show a disturbing presence of passivity, lack of commitment, neutralism, spontaneity, nonexistence of everyday action and struggle to clearly define and implement an editorial policy in line with our goals. Or as Stipe Suvar's assessment that conformity, neutrality, inertness, lack of creativity and an apologetic approach are still larger problems of our news media than a surplus of criticism. "In our newspapers there is not enough authentic, committed and frank criticism, but petty caviling has increased greatly. That is why the principal task of party discussions and actions is by no means to restrain and smother the increasingly pronounced critical orientation of our news media, but, on the contrary, to encourage it, to create a social climate and conditions so that they truly have an uncompromising militant effect, so that they call a spade a spade."

The discussion of the negative (the positive is spoken about much more rarely or almost not at all) manifestations in the press is not only a discussion of the news media--as in some places, perhaps even intentionally, people attempt to oversimplify it. The discussion is about a state of the spirit, and indeed even about something more. The growing influence of the news media is one of the signs of greater democratization of our public life, which the party must insist on by its very nature. That is why the party drive, though at times it has used the method of the "shock," does not signify a purge and a manhunt (though some would gladly use it for that purpose), nor is it a matter of any sort of agitprop undertaking, nor of a restrictive policy; it is not a cover for a desire for censorship, nor is it a search for errors in order to stifle and choke the freedom of newsgathering (though there are some who think that way, not only in the ranks of the newsmen who are taking up a defensive posture). The Presidium of the Croatian LC Central Committee has found it suitable to utter such assurances on several occasions. Just as it has several

times emphasized over and over again that it is not a question of sins, reproaches and repentance, but that we have ahead of us a lengthy battle which will contribute to the creation and reproduction of socialist public opinion, and it should express and convey ideas which will work as a material force. It is not a question of a campaign, but of an awareness that those who carry on such an important activity as newsgathering must constantly reassess their work in critical terms and measure it against the basic tasks of society and the goals which they must achieve.

[Box, p 14]

#### Changes

Party members in the media and the general public gave a good reception to the conclusions of the Serbian LC Central Committee on the current issues of political ideology concerning the media. Although only a few weeks have passed since that meeting of the Central Committee, changes are already evident in the activity and behavior of editorial offices and newsmen. This assessment was expressed in a meeting of the Presidium of the Serbian LC Central Committee on 25 February.

Note was taken, however, that in certain editorial offices the conclusions of the Central Committee have not been consistently respected. Comments have appeared, Dobrivoje Vidic said, which are not altogether on the line of the assessments and message of our meeting. This is all the more serious when they are written by newsmen who are party members. Vukasin Loncar also agreed that since the meeting of the Central Committee there have been obvious changes for the better, but that in some places there have been deliberate moves to discredit certain assessments of the plenum.

7045

CSO: 2800/183

## LC BODIES IN SLAVONIAN TOWNS DISCUSS NATIONALIST INCIDENT

Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 11 Mar 83 p 12

[Text] Pleternica--At a joint meeting of sociopolitical organizations of the local communities of Pleternica and Slavenska Pozega opcina on Wednesday evening, nationalist excesses and political provocations that had occurred in Pleternica were sharply condemned.

It was concluded that because there was no immediate response to the incidents stories began to circulate in Pleternica and the security and political situation there deteriorated. As Dusan Pavkovic, executive secretary of the Slavenska Pozega opcina committee of the League of Communists of Croatia, and Antun Benak, secretary of the basic organization of the League of Communists of Pleternica, informed the meeting, during the funeral (7 February) of Tihomir Culina, a retired art teacher of the Pleternica elementary school, an ordinary shroud was not placed over the deceased, but rather a shroud with red and white squares and a yellow border. It was emphasized that the funeral ceremony was private and that it was arranged by the son of Tihomir Culina, who thus supposedly carried out the last wish of his father. While taking leave of the deceased, one of the representatives of the elementary school, concluding his farewell speech, uttered words whose meaning was ambiguous, because during the National Liberation War Tihomir Culina belonged to the Ustase, with the result that after the war, when he was arrested while trying to flee Yugoslavia, he was sentenced to several years of imprisonment and served part of the sentence. Culina demonstrated nationalistic behavior in 1971, and because of this he was warned several times.

In addition, there was a political provocation at the annual assembly of the Pleternica cultural and scientific society "Orljava" (19 February). During the minute of silence in tribute to Dr Vladimir Bakaric, those present were also invited to pay their respects to the deceased Culina, who at one time headed the art section of that society.

As was stressed at the meeting, these events, which were the acts of individuals, must be strictly separated from the working people and citizens of Pleternica and the members of the "Orljava" society, who honorably fulfill all their duties; on the other hand, it was stated that the organs of public security of Slavenska Pozega opcina have brought criminal charges against the perpetrators of the aforementioned acts.

It was suggested to reporters that their names not be published until a critical and self-critical analysis of all the facts and individual responsibilities had been undertaken. In connection with this, Drago Duvnjak, secretary of the Slavonska Pozega opcina committee of the League of Communists of Croatia, let the reporters who had been invited to the meeting know that if a new incident of this kind occurred he would respond both politically and legally.

In the near future there will be a meeting of the basic organizations of the League of Communists in the elementary school, post office and "Komunalac" basic organization of associated labor, which, contrary to their regulations, permitted the controversial shroud to appear at the funeral. It was stressed that it is necessary to devote more attention to social self-protection so that similar incidents can be prevented. A proposal was also accepted that a conference of all communists should be held in Pleternica soon on the subject of the political and security situation there.

CSO: 2800/203

## SLOVENIANS COMMENT ON CELEBRATION OF LUTHER ANNIVERSARY

[Editorial Report] An article by Bozidar Pahor in the 26 February issue of Ljubljana DELO in Slovene, page 21, datelined Bonn, reports on the celebration of the 500th anniversary of the birth of Martin Luther in the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic. The author mentions the celebration of the 450th anniversary of Luther's birth in 1933, the year that the Nazis came into power, the slogan of the Evangelistic-Lutheran Synod "With Luther and Hitler for the faith and the nation" and the protests of some Protestant clergymen, including Pastor Martin Niemöller, against the abuse and falsification of Luther's doctrine for the aims of the Nazis.

The article concludes as follows:

And what is the importance of Luther today, in both Germanies, 500 years after the birth of the reformer? There are Evangelical churches in both Germanies. Both Germanies are indebted to Luther--and not only the faithful. In the Federal Republic they like to stress that Luther is a bridge connecting all Germans. Did he not give to them a common language and a feeling of community which, in the 19th century, took the form of a national community?

However, the "West" Germans are suspicious of their "brothers" in the GDR; they believe that they have something else in mind. "From Luther via Marx to the first German workers' and peasants' state." In the opinion of political circles in Bonn, this means that, in the East, they are trying to assert the independence of the Democratic Republic and, therefore, they are using Luther as a Berlin Wall, not as a bridge. Therefore they are weighing the benefits and the drawbacks of a visit by a delegation from the Federal Republic--Honecker will send invitations to the Federal [Republic's] chancellor and other officials--to Berlin, Eisenach, Worms, Wartburg, and Wittenberg in the GDR, where Luther lived and worked.

The political and ideological whirlpools which are sizzling in regard to Luther and his legacy are not important for us Slovenians. But something else is important: If there had been no Luther, most likely, there would not have been any Trubar or Dalmatin or any of our other Protestant writers, who, through their language, made us aware of who we were. And what good would Goethe be without Luther's bible in German and what good would Presern be without Dalmatin's bible in Slovenian? Some questions cannot always be answered reliably but they must be asked, nevertheless. And that is why "The Year of Luther" is also important for us Slovenians.



MANIFESTATIONS OF SERBIAN NATIONALISM UNDER FIRE

Two Writers in Cacak

Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 23 Feb 83 p 6

[Article by R. Petrovic: "Actions by Two Writers Unacceptable"]

[Text] Recent actions by two well-known writers, Moma Kapor and Branislav Petrovic, at two cultural events in the Cacak region, however, innocent and harmless they might have appeared, are ideologically unacceptable. In a community which is proud of its past and openness to everything which is progressive, we must distance ourselves from any heating up of nationalistic passions. Everything that has even the mildest overtone of nationalism has to be vigorously condemned and branded.

This is in part what was said at last night's meeting of the Presidium of the Cacak Opstina Committee of the LC concerning the actions of Moma Kapor at a literary evening in the Cacak Culture Center and of Branislav Petrovic in the ceremonies to open the Culture Center in the village Premeci.

What actually happened there? According to Nikola Pesic, chairman of the Cacak Opstina Committee of the LC, at the literary evening held on 20 January Moma Kapor began his talk to an auditorium filled with lovers of literature with these words: "Today is my slava, Saint John's Day," and then he made a slight, but significant pause and added: "Glory be to him..." A bit later he recalled out loud the advice of his grandfather, who told him when he was small: "My boy, as soon as trouble starts, flee to Serbia, it is safest there."

As far as is known, no one present in the auditorium reacted to these words, and the entire literary evening, in which Purisa Djordjevic, film director, Mihailo Djokovic Tikalo, academy painter, Miodrag Maksimovic, literary critic, Radomir Mihailovic Tocak, guitarist, and Jovan Nikolic, poet, also participated, went off smoothly.

Just 5 days later the Culture Center was officially opened in the village Premeci on Jelica Planina. Many people attended the ceremonies, among them several opstina leaders from Cacak. In the ceremonial atmosphere, along with food and drink, various songs were sung. The poet Branislav Petrovic, who

incidentally had grown up in that region, was also in a good mood. At one point he was astounded when those present sang the song "Comrade Tito, We Pledge Ourselves to You," in the arrangement of a popular song, and then a bit later he asked the musicians for the song "Whoever Says 'Serbia Is Small' Is a Liar."

These actions by the two writers will soon be taken up in a meeting of the Cačak Opstina Committee of the LC.

#### Link With Punks?

Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 23 Feb 83 p 6

[Article by Z. S.: "The General and Rock Music"]

[Text] In the intermission of a concert by the English rock group "Girls School," held on Friday in the Pioneer Auditorium, group of some 50 young people, according to Moma Popovic, leader of the work brigade in culture which was established at one time by the Belgrade City Committee of the Socialist Youth League in order to help to organize rock concerts and other cultural events for young people, sang the songs "Oh, General Sindjelic!" and "Whoever Says 'Serbia Is Small'...."

As told by a few eyewitnesses, this group of young people dressed in punk clothing were unable to outdo with their singing the general din which prevailed because of the somewhat extended intermission. Thus the song was heard only by those sitting in the nearest two or three rows. After the concert, however, many people spoke about this occurrence in amazement as something which had not previously occurred at rock concerts.

#### Commentary on 'Evil Spirit'

Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 25 Feb 83 p 6

[Article by Miroslav Stojanovic]

[Text] Several news items published these past several days on nationalistic outbursts have only strengthened the awareness which we have already been harboring with anxiety--that nationalism is increasingly aggressive.

Outbursts of this kind always have a disquieting effect, but unfortunately the effect is not always a sobering one. The sensitivity with which we react is above all an expression of profound awareness of the magnitude of what we would be risking if we should be indifferent toward nationalism and what we might ultimately lose. And we can explain the ineffectiveness in combating nationalism by the fact that we still have not struck down to the roots which are spreading the nationalistic atmosphere.

It is hard for us to escape the impression that more and more we perceive these news items as something that by and large we already know about--without any great surprise and with a disturbing silence.

How is one to account for this great restraint toward the obvious surge of nationalism, a certain perplexity, awkwardness and embarrassment that it should be manifested concretely? Why is it that people often conceal such outbursts in their own community like some ugly disease?

The explanations might be varied, reasonable and comprehensible, and yet not be in the end acceptable to us. Certainly people are fed up with incidents. They know how easy it is to create them and how difficult they are to heal over. They leave behind a great deal of bitterness and devastation. They also know that a sterile uproar over nationalism is what suits it best.

Out of a fear of overreacting, people sometimes fall silent even when that is what they must never do. This silence, precisely at a time of fierce and reasonable social criticism of nationalistic manifestations, is what is disturbing. Has nationalism taken hold of us more than we are aware of?

Of all the errors, our experience has drastically persuaded us, those that have to do with nationalism carry the highest price. That still does not mean that it is easy for us to free ourselves of them. One self-delusion of that kind is the hiding of the viper in the bosom out of the naïve belief that in this way we will tame it.

There is one fact which certainly ought not to escape our attention. Almost all the reports about the nationalistic outbursts which have reached the public came late. That was the case with those wanton boys who arrogantly, with persistent chanting and singing "their own" song "The Heroes Danced in the Heart of Serbia," interrupted the concert of a Zagreb rock group in Belgrade. That was also the case with that free-for-all between fans of "Hajduk" and "Partizan" [soccer teams from Split and Belgrade, respectively] in front of the Hotel Palas in Belgrade (regardless of the fact, which was also published tardily, that the fight did not have nationalistic overtones), and also with those most recent heroes in the "Pionir" Auditorium when the English rock group was giving a guest concert, and that drastic case with Lascina in Zagreb.... There has been persistent whispering in recent days about some case in Svetozarevo and a still more persistent silence.

That conspiracy of silence "with good intentions" is beginning to have a destructive effect already. It confuses people, it creates a situation in which everything is mixed up and in which it is difficult to figure out what is what. Such a situation is also accompanied by other dangerous oversights such as the one concerning the supposed harmlessness of the provocative wearing of national symbols, old Serbian coats of arms and Serbian-style garrison caps, for example, in Belgrade and other places in SR [Socialist Republic] Serbia, and then concerning that primitive, rowdy and anachronistic flaunting of Serbian national sentiment, which in the name of its greatness and to glorify it would reduce socialist Serbia to the measure of its own provincial spirit and retrogradism, to isolation and exclusiveness.

There is nothing either new or unfamiliar in those vicious intentions. There is something disturbing in the ease and forcefulness with which the specter of that stunted consciousness is reviving and spreading. And, something else we

note with a heavy heart--it is seizing upon more and more young people. At bacchanalias on the eve of the so-called Serbian New Year, which were not so numerous [sic] young people in Belgrade, Sabac, Kraljevo, Leskovac, Smederevo ... aggressively "discovered" their "own" hits: "Oh, General Sindjelic!" "The Serbian Trumpet Is Heard From Kosovo," "Whoever Says 'Serbia Is Small'...."

One thesis, which for a long time has been an undisputed postulate of theory, to the effect that every nationalism in our country is the forerunner of the counterrevolution, is being flagrantly confirmed, not only with the example of the aggressive Irredenta in Kosovo, but, unfortunately, in other regions as well. Behind what seems to be only an aggressive obtrusion of national symbols and other provocations which have been talked about in recent weeks in Serbia, Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina and almost all other regions, there is an ever more direct trumpeting of what is not the symbol of any nationality, but is an enmity which threatens the highest human values and everything that is progressive and humane.

This is not merely a primitive mentality, egoism and blindness, but an undisguised assault on the essential achievements of the nationality in question, on the achievements of all the nationalities and ethnic minorities which brought out of the revolution something more than full ethnic equality--the class nature of society in which we live, socialism and self-management.

Behind us, irrecoverably we hope, are the errors that our nationalisms are something foreign, something anachronistic and superseded. By the force which they compel us once again to confront them they are also in a way sobering us up, as was stated at the last meeting of the Serbian LC Central Committee: our head is being pummeled by our absurdities, our divisions and dissensions, our bureaucratized mentality and our specious complacency. Nationalism is not a mere legacy, but above all our "current product." Insofar as we are brave enough and sincerely determined to confront this fact with all its implications, to that extent we can be successful in opposing nationalism. Otherwise the ghost in our bosom will grow to become a dangerous monster. The evil spirit of nationalism is no longer a mere apparition. To be aware of this is not to call for alarm and panic, but for a sobering up and a fierce and painful confrontation with our own selves, an appeal for concern: our painful reality, nationalism, is not and dare not become our destiny.

If it is not suitable to seek nationalism where it does not exist and to dramatize well-known situations, it is still less acceptable to close one's eyes before its obvious assaults. If it is our paramount duty, both human and political, to raise our voice everywhere against outbursts of chauvinism, to expose them to ridicule and national shame, we have an equal duty to soberly and responsibly reflect about the social circumstances in which nationalism is manifested or in which room is created for its activity.

The press has a particular role in this. A high degree of sensitivity to nationalistic manifestations is the least that is required of committed political journalism. More than that is expected: a contribution to establishing a higher degree of interethnic understanding which will fill the forcibly created gaps and create a spirit of sincere collaboration of all the peoples and nationalities in our community.

Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 2 Mar 83 p 12

[Article by Milorad Vucelic: "Dangerous Errors: From Paradigmatic Cases to a Symptomatic Spread of Nationalism"]

[Text] It is well known that without a clear awareness that the basic characteristic of our situation is the conflict of socialist, self-management, democratic and Yugoslav forces with the forces of bureaucracy, separation and imposition of statism, we will not get far in criticism of nationalism, however harsh it may be. To insist on establishing class and social criteria in resolving social conflicts and to point to the unrestrainable processes of nationalization of all problems as the main causes of the present situation of crisis, does not, however, by any means diminish the significance and necessity of direct ideological and political combat against nationalism and its diverse manifestations in public and cultural life. Consistency and the right motives of that struggle will be measured precisely by how far it gets in eliminating the basic causes of nationalism, but certainly also by its contribution to sharpening the criteria for its recognition. That responsible and productive recognition when it will not be possible to realize the vision in which "the children of the day are carefree and have no memory, and thus no history, and when they are attacked by the children of the night--cannibals living in caverns underground, they do not know how to defend themselves."

If the struggle against nationalism is reduced merely to a fight against a few individuals who have already been "brought into disrepute" or if attention is directed only to two or three cases, it may all seem like a search for phantoms or even the firing of cannon on sparrows. To that extent it is imperative to point out not only the "paradigmatic" cases, but precisely those symptoms indicative of the fact that nationalist tendencies have become quite widespread.

#### Unacceptable Consistency

We need not always seek evidence that ethnogenetic debates are almost always and infallibly a symptom of a surge of nationalism in the counterrevolutionary events in Kosovo, in recalling the Iranian origin of the Croatian nationalists, or, on the other hand, in the arguments of various Kulisices, whom we can find even in a publication called "Sorabi" by the painter Milic od Macve. As designer of the set for the production of "Migration of the Serbs" at the National Theater (which made the entire body of critics wonder why it was put on the repertoire at all if not because of its title), this officially favored painter who lives in a castle on Zvezdara [hill in Belgrade] distributed to the first-night audience a publication in which he asserts that "the Serbs with their language are an autochthonous people in the Balkans and in the Danube Basin in the broader sense, which is to say that they have always been settled here since human speech has existed, and that means from time immemorial!" Or, to be still more precise and accurate, before all the others, and in particular the Albanians!

None of those tales would be worth mentioning if similar ideas had not demonstrated recently that in spite of their being primitive, uncivilized and unscientific, they can have a high power for manipulation and indoctrination, with unforeseeably bad consequences.

There is also a need to unambiguously oppose and characterize the conceptions of certain reviews, which have already taken clear shape, especially with respect to the area of cultural problems. It is not a question of individual excesses and isolated cases, but of a patient consistency. There has been writing to the effect that our past does not allow us to live together and in concert within Yugoslavia. There is even writing in connection with certain altogether innocent little performances to the effect that "the Serbian public together with the Serbian actors nicely demonstrated that it was quite able to make fun of its own saints. Quite well, much better even than that is done by others." It is logical, then, without any sort of real pretext and accompanied by a consistent spread of animosity toward everything that is leftist, to begin to carry out a relativization of assessments of the nationalistic Proposal for Reflection, along with a simultaneous Serbian constitutional regionalization of the national identity.

There has been writing about the unprecedented Serbian magnanimity because allegedly "Miroslav Krleža in his huge opus had hardly any good word to say about the Serbian people, while the Serbian people has still continued to glorify him."

The tragic errors of certain Serbian poets like Ducic are granted amnesty in the same review by some sort of fatalistic need of the Serbs to "declare that they have no poet who is a nationalist"! The moralistic horrification over a mere drop of blood which sometimes was not even shed and which is charged to the socialist movement grow to become commonplace errors and cases of ignorance when it comes to apologies for nationalistic fanaticism and slaughter. "Serbianism" and the jingoist intolerance of Ljubomir Micić, be it accidental or not, is lost in representative exhibitions such as the one entitled "Zenithism."

Not only has the celebration of various religious holidays been turned into a nationalistic celebration, but various radio stations are even broadcasting music to fit the occasion. What is one to say about the outbursts of certain Serbian writers at various places in Serbia except that these are shameful nationalistic and hucksterish cases of fanaticism that is beneath any level of even decency.

Doubtful "Historic Missions"

In the present context the heightened interest in so-called "other communities" is unfortunately becoming a confirmation and expression of a certain nationalization, which mystifies and promotes a number of "great works" and "classics" without any true substantiation or visible basis of any size, and at the same time blunts the ability to recognize the problems in their social plane. In these exchanges of fire penitence is expressed for the true evaluation of authentically significant works, and advantage is derived by various self-styled saviors or "traitors to the national cause."

Can the communist vertical orientation under the conditions of fratricidal warfare and its productive development truly be replaced by a scratching up of shed blood in the name of some sort of "truths," and, judging by the characteristic pain or boasting, could this become the obsession of an entire "community"? At what level of interethnic relations are we when sons and grandsons, absolutely arbitrarily, begin to insist on what the generations of their fathers and grandfathers rose above in their struggle?

Expensive projects, encyclopedias and magnificent films come into being on that wave as well as on the wave of affirming the "historic missions" of our nationalists, regionalists and separatists. There are more and more "cultural lights" who behave as though they have deservedly won their place with their own works, and not with mere unfounded promotion of the marketplace, bureaucratic public relations or simply by the forces of dissension.

It is as though it is impossible to overcome even those drastic situations which have been altogether clarified. How can it be possible for the strategists of irredentism and the counterrevolution to come back onto the scene once again with nationalistic theses and experiencing no problems whatsoever in doing so? Under whose sponsorship in connection with the problems of the "Encyclopedia of Yugoslavia" does Ali Hadri once again speak in the magazine KOSOVA-KOSOVO!!! And it would be worth leafing through magazines in other communities as well.

The enumeration could be continued. But it was not our intention to be exhaustive in a critical characterization, but to indicate how widespread is this type of dangerous nationalistic concentration (which is going almost unnoticed), which aspires to make of nationalism once and for all a kind of predominant, "normal" and average state of mind.

#### Strange Occurrences in Svetozarevo

Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 3 Mar 83 p 6

[Article by Slobodan Zikic: "A Platform for Marxism Which Isn't That"]

[Text] The Svetozarevo Opstina Committee of the LC adopted resolutions the night before last which support the action undertaken by party members in the "Veljko Vlahovic" Educational Center in Svetozarevo, in which there have recently been nationalistic manifestations going all the way to fascistoid behavior, but which at the same time have demanded severe condemnation of all those who contributed to the present bad state of affairs in the collective.

By way of background, these were certain manifestations of nationalism and hostile activity among young people in this institution for upbringing and education.

What has actually been happening in the "Veljko Vlahovic" Educational Center?

## Fur Hats, Serbian-Style Garrison Caps and Glorification of the Chetnik Movement!

Things have been happening that had not been previously recorded in this sociopolitical community. In this numerous collective comprising more than 2,000 students and about 160 staff members, shortcomings in the organization of instruction, in the work of the bodies of self-management and other shortcomings were directly reflected in the upbringing of young people. In January and February they even allowed a group of students to operate in the school from unacceptable Great Serbia positions.

First of all, on 6 January Radomir Lukic, chairman of the Svetozarevo Opstina Conference of the SSO [Socialist Youth League], obtained information to the effect that a group of students were coming to school wearing fur hats and Serbian-style garrison caps and were glorifying the Chetnik movement. Tomislav Petrovic, principal of the school, said that he was not aware of this but added that a group of students had asked him if it could organize a party in the school to celebrate the "Serbian New Year" and a request to publish its own newspaper HORIZONTI [HORIZONS].

Since, according to a group of teachers, these were "above-average students, ahead of their contemporaries," the teachers seem to have had tremendous confidence in them and in their initiative. Thus this group of students in their junior year spoke about Yugoslav federalism in an unacceptable way even in the format of the Marxist discussion of Yugoslav federalism. The students V. J. and S. J. particularly distinguished themselves. A poster was also prepared for this discussion, and the name of the topic was written this way: "Yugoslavia--Federation or Confederation," which was not the topic agreed on. The teachers Mirjana Lazarevic and Milan Danilovic pointed out their unacceptable positions and assessments, but the Marxist discussion nevertheless remained the concern of the students alone.

### Who Is in Favor of Hitler(?!)

A new Marxist discussion was held as early as 8 February. A day previously invitations were even printed up, which was not the usual thing. The invitations said: "We invite you to attend a historic evening devoted to the 50th anniversary of the taking of power by Adolf Hitler." A similar announcement, which was even signed by the principal of the school, which was also not the usual thing, was read in 60 classes. The announcement stated: "On 30 January of this year was the 50th anniversary of Adolf Hitler's coming to power. This was the reason that led us to hold a historic evening concerning this man, who with his insane ideas and their realization brought the world to the edge of catastrophe...."

The lecturer in this Marxist discussion was the student V. J., who spoke for nearly 40 minutes, and who said among other things in his speech that Hitler cannot be reproached for not being able to govern, that he united the German people and German working class, and that he did not invent the concentration camps. He also emphasized Hitler's abilities as a speaker.



At the same time, while the Marxist discussion was taking place, several swastikas appeared in the rooms of the school, a sign appeared reading: "Whoever is in favor of Adolf Hitler as a leader and man make a checkmark," and the first issue of the newspaper HORIZONTI was prepared.

"That group of students has been creating quite a few problems for us. They even undermined and dispersed one of our conferences. We were unable to hold the meeting," we were told by Miodrag Brajkovic, chairman of the SSO School Conference.

That same group of students even had its photograph taken with fur hats and certain old insignia of Serbia, and a map of Yugoslavia was found in their possession on which SR Croatia had been crossed out, while SR Serbia was edged in red, and all the monasteries in Serbia were also underlined with a red pencil.

Occurrences of this kind and similar types of behavior by young people have also been noted in other places: for example, in the disco club of Hotel Jagodina, where a young man wore a Serbian-style garrison cap with a cocarde. All of this indicates that something has gone wrong with the upbringing of young people. Incidentally, the poor work done with upbringing and education in the "Veljko Vlahovic" Educational Center has been mentioned in reports by educational inspectors of SR Serbia and the region. The interopstina educational inspector noted, for example, that many things in the educational center are left to chance, to the initiatives and desires of the students and certain teachers, that there is quite a bit of arbitrariness and improvisation, and this is especially manifested in the way the lecture series on Marxism is handled.

"Precise conclusions have not yet been drawn, and the working group will have to meet again," says Milorad Milosevic, secretary of the Svetozarevo Opstina Committee of the LC. "I have to emphasize that the committee for nationwide defense and social self-protection has also prepared and held a meeting with young people and party members in the educational center. By contrast with several of the teachers, the students clearly and outspokenly condemned the present situation and manifestations in that institution for education and upbringing.

[Box]

Why Was the Committee Silent?

"One gets the impression that the opstina committee of the LC has been silent, that it did not react in time," says Milorad Milosevic, secretary of the Svetozarevo Opstina Committee of the LC. "That is not true. Back in January we warned that things were happening in the educational center which could degenerate into something unacceptable for all of us. However, in agreement with the governmental authorities of our country and the opstina, we decided to present our opinion when the governmental bodies completed their job and when our views became crystallized."

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